

MEMOIRS

OF

Denmark,

Containing the

LIFE and REIGN

Of the Late

K. of *Denmark, Norway, &c.*

CHRISTIAN V.

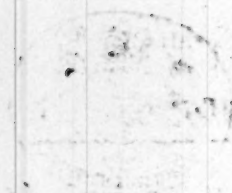
TOGETHER

With an Exact Account of the Rise and Progress of those Differences now on foot betwixt the Two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*; with all the Remarkable Circumstances thereunto belonging, taken from Authentick Letters and Records;

By J. C. Med. D. Fellow of the *Royal Society*, and a Member of the College of Physicians.

LONDON, Printed, and Sold by *John Nutt*
near *Stationers-Hall.* 1700.

34 3 16



1
b
1

THE
EPISTLE DEDICATORY
TO
Her Royal Highness
THE
Princess *A N N E*
OF
DENMARK.

May it please Your Royal Highness,

I Here present to You a
Prince, whose Memory, as
well by reason of his No-
ble Qualifications, as of the
Honour he had to be Allied to
A 2 You

Epistle Dedicatory.

You by the strict Tyes of Blood (being the Only Brother to Your Royal Spouse) cannot but be very sacred to You. If there be any thing in Sympathy, it is certain, that a Soul so Great and Noble as His, would disdain to court the Patronage of any other Person, than Your Royal Highness, whose Eminent Station, You are plac'd in by Providence in this Realm, Entitles You in a most peculiar manner to it. It is this, that has emboldned me to lay the following Treatise at Your Highnesses feet; which without this Plea, I should look upon as an impardonable Presumption.
And

Epistle Dedicatory.

*And upon this Occasion, I know,
I should enter upon the Theme
of Your Royal Vertues; but
as the Illustrious Rank You
bear in these Kingdoms has
rendred them so Conspicuous to
the eyes of All the World, as to
be beyond the due Praises of a
private Hand, so I will rather
deviate from the common Road
of our Modern Dedicators, than
fall under the Censure of have-
ing undertaken a Task, I ac-
knowledge my self unable to
perform. I will only say thus
much in my own behalf, that,
as by the exact Harmony that
is betwixt both Your Royal
Highnesses, You set a Pattern*

Epistle Dedicatory.

of Conjugal Love to the *Whole Kingdom*; so Your Goodness, which is so diffusive to all, and has gain'd to You the Hearts of many Thousands, could not but be so prevailing with me, as to implore Your Protection, which if You will be pleased to afford me, under the shelter of a Prince, whose Life and Reign is the Chief Subject of the ensuing Treatise, You will at once, give an ample Testimony to the World, of the High Value You put upon his Memory, and raise the Author's Ambition to the highest pitch ~~of Ambition~~, he ever could pretend to, in affording a
Gene-

Epistle Dedicatory.

Generous Acceptance to his Endeavours, which without that, he looks upon, as altogether disproportionable to the Greatness of the Subject he Treats of. I will end with this hearty Wish, that That Conjugal Harmony, which ties both Your Royal Highnesses Hearts with an indissoluble Knot, may be Everlasting; and as by Your Moderation and Goodness You are become the Darling of these Nations, so may the happy Effects of it, redound to Your Both sides Satisfaction, to the Happiness of Your Royal Off-spring, and the Welfare of these Nations.

A 4

This

Epistle Dedicatory.

*This is the most fervent Wish
and Desire of him, who begs
Leave once more to subscribe
himself*

Your Royal Highnesses

Most Humble,

Most Faithful,

And devoted Servant,

J. Crull,

T H E

T H E

P R E F A C E.

I Thought I could not pitch upon a more seasonable Juncture to expose the following Memoirs to Publick View, than this, when the Differences betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp* (which make up a considerable part of them) are likely to kindle a War in the North. I was also perswaded, that I could not easily hit upon a more favourable opportunity, than this to vindicate in some measure, the Memory of a Brave and Generous Prince, from the Aspersions cast upon him some Years ago by a certain Person, who, as he is generally supposed to have had but a very slender insight into the Affairs of the North, by reason of his being unacquainted with the Language and true State of those Countries, so had by his own Confession, taken many things, he tells us with so much Assurance, upon the Credit of others; Besides, that the ill Conduct he is charged with by the *Danish* Court, which drew upon him the Indignation

*The Author
of the Ac-
count of Den-
mark, 1692.*

The PREFACE.

dignation of that Prince, whose Life and Reign we have given you an Account of in the following Sheets, may give us some Reason to suspect, that Revenge and Malice might have a considerable Share in those Suggestions, some of which, to speak the Truth, contain more Bitterness than is consistent with the true Genius of an unbiass'd Historian. It was not my Province at this time to enter upon an Examination of any of the Particulars of that Kidney contained in the said Treatise; my Opinion being, that by giving a true Account of the Chief Transactions of the Life and Reign of this Prince, together with what attended them, and that from authentick and unquestionable Authority, I should be able to put things in a true light, leaving the rest to the Judgment of the impartial Reader.

As I have not the least Engagement to the *Danish* Crown, either by Birth, Interest, or upon any other account, so I have taken all imaginable Care, to represent Matters without Passion or prepossession, as will be easily discernable by all such, as will take the pains to compare the Reasons alledg'd and inserted here, on both sides, founded altogether upon authentick Letters and Abstracts of the Records of those Countries.

The PREFACE.

Countries. To represent to the Reader the whole Matter in Contest betwixt those two Houses, in as full a View as the Bulk of this Treatise would admit of; I thought it absolutely requisite to trace the very Original of those Differences, which make so much Noise in the World at present, as in the Introduction, I have endeavoured to shew the steps that were made towards that Revolution, which was the Consequence of that War, which reduced the Kingdom of *Denmark* to the very brink of destruction, the Effects of which, it is sensible of to this day.

For the rest, there are three different Instances in this Treatise of the Mischiefs which always are the unavoidable Consequences of intestine Divisions.

The Nobility of *Denmark* made it their Business for several Ages together to Aggrandize their own Power, by suppressing both the Royal Prerogatives, and the Liberties of the other Estates; all the fruits they reap'd by it, were to involve the Kingdom into such Troubles, as had almost prov'd fatal to it, and ended in the Total Ruine of their so much admired Greatness.

On the other hand, the Commonalty of *Hamborough*, not contented with a reasonable Share (allotted them by the fundamental

The PREFACE.

mental Constitution of that Commonwealth) in the Management of the Government, were for clipping the Senates Authority, to Aggrandize their own, the Consequences of which were, that finding themselves entangl'd in unsurmountable Difficulties, they furnish'd a fair Opportunity, for the *Danish* King to renew his old Pretensions (which, to confess the Truth, are none of the worst) and to back them with Fire and Sword; The issue of it was, that the Mischief fell upon the heads of those, who had been the Chief occasion of it; tho' at the same time the remainders of those Dissentions are not rooted out to this day, and consequently the same Danger attends them. So certain it is, that whenever the Foundation-stone, upon which the Frame of the Government is built, is either removed or weakened, the Structure must of necessity fall, be it soon or late.

I need not enlarge my self much upon the Third, which are the Differences betwixt *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, the Effects of it have made too much Noise in our Age, as not to be remembred; What advantage did *Frederick* the present Duke of *Holstein's* Grandfather get, by first removing the Foundation-stone of the antient

The PREFACE.

trient Unions betwixt those two Families, in siding with *Sweden* against *Denmark*? Besides the devastations of his Territories during that War with *Sweden*, which had almost prov'd fatal to *Denmark*; his Son *Christian Albert* paid dearly for the so much coveted Title of Sovereign, being forc'd to live in Exile for near fourteen Years together; whilst the House of *Denmark* rais'd vast Sums out of his Dominions, to make themselves some Amends for what they had suffer'd by his Father's siding with their Enemy; tho' it must be confess'd on the other hand, that this was a slender Recompense for the Loss of so many fair Provinces, wherewith they were forc'd to buy their Peace from the *Swedes*: A remarkable Instance of what Danger attends those Alterations in a State, which strike at the root of its Constitution, the determination of the Differences begun and continued for near fifty years ago, being but now, in all likelihood, left to the longest Sword.

THE

T H E

CONTENTS.

THE Introduction.

Page 1

CHAP. I.

Of the Condition of the Kingdom of *Denmark*,
at the time of King *Christian V.* his Accession
to the Throne.

P. 29

CHAP. II.

Of the Origin of the Differences, betwixt *Den-*
mark and the House of *Holstein Gottorp.*

P. 37

CHAP. III.

The Occasion and Causes of the Differences be-
twixt *Denmark* and the House of *Holstein Got-*
torp.

P. 42

CHAP. IV.

What occasioned the Rupture betwixt the late
King of *Denmark*, *Christian V.* and *Christian*
Albert the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp.*

P. 53

CHAP. V.

An Account of the Rupture betwixt King *Chri-*
stian V. King of *Denmark*, and *Christian Albert*
Duke of *Holstein Gottorp.*

P. 58

CHAP. VI.

The ensuing War betwixt *Charles XI.* King of
Sweden, and *Christian V.* King of *Denmark*
and his Allies.

P. 67

CHAP. VII

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

The true State of the Difference arisen betwixt *Christian V.* King of *Denmark*, and *Christian Albert* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, after the Treaty of *Rensburgh*, till the Treaty of *Fountain-Bleau* and *Alena*. p. 83

CHAP. VIII.

An Account of the Siege of *Hamburgh*, undertaken by King *Christian V.* in the Year 1686. p. 90

CHAP. IX.

Of the Differences arisen betwixt King *Christian V.* and the young Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, after the death of his Father *Christian Albert*. p. 98

CHAP. X.

The Character of King *Christian V.* His Court, the Royal Family, and some other Matters relating to His Person. p. 145
The Conclusion. p. 153

Errata's.

Pag. 30. In lieu of *Frederick Emilia*, read *Brederick Emilia*. Ibid. in lieu of King *Charles XII.* r. *Charles XI.*

MEMOIRS OF Denmark.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THose who have apply'd themselves to make the most Exact Scrutiny of the antient Monuments, do unanimously agree in this, That, as the Northern Kingdoms are the most antient in *Europe*: So, *Denmark* may contend for Antiquity with any of the other Northern Monarchies; tho' for want of Authentick Records amongst those Barbarous Nations, their first Origin and the Great Deeds of their Monarchs are buried in Oblivion. *Frotho III.* is Famous among the antient Northern Monarchs, who Reign'd some time before our Saviour's Birth, and Stil'd himself King of *Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, and Ireland*, being the first who Assum'd

B

the

Memoirs of Denmark.

the Title of King of the *Vandals* (inhabiting that Part of *Germany*, which is now call'd *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburgh*) retain'd by the Kings of *Denmark*, as well as those of *Sweden* to this day. It is beyond all Dispute that *Gorrick* (Successor to his Brother *Sigifred*, the then King of *Denmark*) did Assist *Wurckint* Duke of the *Saxons*, against *Charles* the Great the *Roman* Emperour.

The Christian
Religion in-
troduced in
Denmark.

About the Year 846, under the Reign of King *Erick*, the Christian Religion was first introduced in *Denmark*, by the Means of *Ansgarius* Bishop of *Bremen*; but was not Establish'd there, till under the Reign of *Gormio* II. who being Vanquish'd by the Emperour *Henry*, Sir-named the *Fowler*, was forced to grant the free Exercise of the Christian Religion in *Denmark*. His Grandson *Sueno Otto* Conquered some Part of *England*, who being succeeded by his Son *Canute* II. Sir-nam'd the *Great*, he compleated the Conquest of this Island, and was King of *Denmark*, *England*, and *Norway*; but having divided these three Kingdoms betwixt his three Sons, to wit, *Harald*, who had *England* for his Share, *Canute* who succeeded him in *Denmark*, and *Sueno*, who was King of *Norway*, he thereby so weakened their Power, that the Successor of *Harald*, *Haraldknutt*, was chased out of *England*, and *Magnus* King of *Norway* made himself Master of *Denmark*. Among the succeeding Kings of *Denmark*, *Waldemar* II. was the most Potent, who succeeding his Father *Canute* VI. (who after he had forced the Princes of the *Vandals* to do him Homage, reviv'd the antient Title of King of the *Vandals*, among the Kings of *Denmark*) brought the Countries of *Esthonia*, *Livonia*, *Curland*,

England
Conquered by
the Danes.

land, Prussia, Pomerania, Rugen, Mecklenburgh, Holstein, Stormar, Ditmarsen and Wagern under his Subjection, most of which, however, soon after Revolted from the Crown, and were Re-united with the German Empire.

After his Death the Kingdom of Denmark was miserably torn to pieces by the succeeding Kings, who dethron'd one another, according as they were back'd by a stronger Party, till after an *Inter-Rexnum* of seven Years, the Danes were forced to recall Waldermar III. the Son of their Banish'd King, Christopher II. He in some measure restor'd the decay'd State of the Kingdom by chasing the *Holsteiners* out of Denmark, and Re-uniting *Shonen* and *Gotland* with the Crown. His Grandson Olaus VI. born of Margaret his Daughter, and Hacquin, King of Norway, was the first who united the two Northern Crowns of Denmark and Norway, as his Mother Margaret, who succeeded him in both those Kingdoms (he dying very young) afterwards joyn'd with them the Crown of Sweden, pursuant to an Agreement made in the Year 1396, for this Purpose by the Estates of these three Kingdoms at *Calmar*. And here I cannot pass by in silence what some Modern Authors have attempted to persuade the World, That the Crown of Denmark was antiently Elective; whereas it is most evident, that (not to mention those Times before Christianity was introduc'd in that Kingdom) ever since the Reign of King Sigisfried, who reign'd about the Year 800, till the Death of this Queen Margaret, which happened in the Year 1412; (being the space of above 600 Years) this Crown has been in a perpetual lineal Succession of one Fa-

The Crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden united.

The Account of Denmark 1692

The Danish Monarchy antiently Hereditary.

Memoirs of Denmark.

mily, that the same has been devolv'd to the Females, and several times divided and disposed of by the last Will and Testament of those Monarchs: And it may well deserve our particular Observation in this place, that under the Reign of *Erick* the *Pomeran*, who succeeded *Margaret* (being her Sisters Daughter's Son and a Foreigner) the States then insisted the first time upon their Right of a free Election, when he was endeavouring to establish *Bogislaus*, his Cousin German in the Throne; This being the first Step made by the Nobility to enlarge their Power, both above the King and the other Estates, which they effected afterwards by Degrees, when the *Oldenburgh* Family in the Year 1448, (after the most antient Race of the *Danish* Kings was extinguish'd in *Christopher III.* *Erick's* Sisters Son, and Successor) ascended the Throne; which excessive Encrease of the Power of the Nobility prov'd the Real Occasion of that remarkable Revolution, which happened but a few Years before the Accession to the Throne of *Christian V.* whose Life and Reign is to be the Chief Subject of this Treatise.

But to come to the *Oldenburgh* Family, from whence the present King of *Denmark* is descended.

This House derives its Origin from the Famous *Wittkind*, one of the antient Kings of *Saxony*, who after having very Valiantly defended his Country against that Potent Emperour *Charles the Great*, for the space of thirty Years, and being forced to Surrender himself to his Conquerour, was about the Year 785, converted to the Christian Faith, and for his

Great

Great Services done afterwards to the Emperour, made *Great Duke of Saxony*: He died fighting Couragiously against the *Suevians*, for the Emperour, in the Year 800, and was Buried in the Church of *Angria*, from whence his Body was Translated to *Paderborn* by his Great Nephew the Emperour *Henry*, Sir-nam'd the *Fowler*.

Origin of
the Olden-
burgh Family.

As to the Succession of the Earls of *Oldenburgh* before they were advanced to the Royal Dignity, it is to be observ'd, that one *Hajo*, descended from the Dukes of *Frisia*, married *Rixa* the Daughter of *John* Earl of *Oldenburgh*, Great Grandson of *Walpertus*, who was Son of *Wigbert* the Son of the abovementioned Duke *Wittekind*. This *Hajo* had by his Wife *Rixa*, an onely Son, call'd *Elimarus*, who after the Decease of *Frederick* his Cousin German, became Earl of *Oldenburgh*. He was succeeded by *Elimarus* II. his Son, and had for his Successor *Christian*, Famous for his Bravery, especially in his Wars against *Henry*, Sir-nam'd the *Lion*, Elector of *Saxony*. After him was Earl of *Oldenburgh*, *Christian* his eldest Son, who being murther'd as he was Travelling to *Jerusalem*, having no Issue, was succeeded by *Maurice* his younger Brother. This Earl retiring into a Monastery, left the Earldom to his Eldest Son *Otho*; who, dying likewise without Issue, was succeeded by *Christian* II. his third Brother, the Second being a Canon of *Cologne* and *Bremen*. After his Death, *John* his eldest Son, was Earl of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*. After his Death, *Conrade* his onely Son, was Earl of both the beforementioned Earldoms, who was succeeded by his eldest Son *Maurice*; but he leaving only

two Daughters behind him, the Succession to both those Earldoms was devolv'd to *Theodorick*, the Eldest Son of *Conrade*, by a second Adventure.

This *Theodorick*, Sir-nam'd the *Fortunate*, after the Death of his first Spouse *Adelheda Delmenhorst*, Sister to *Nicholas*, Archbishop of *Bremen*, by whom he had no Issue, taking to his Wife *Hedwig*, Widow of *Balthazar*, Duke of *Oldenburgh*, and Sister to *Gerard* and *Adolph*, Dukes of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, had by her several Children, among whom, *Christian*, being the eldest Son, not only succeeded him in the Countries of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*, but was also afterwards, to wit, in the Year 1448, at the Recommendation of his Uncle *Adolph*, Duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, elected King of *Denmark*, by the Estates of that Kingdom, the Right of Chusing a King being devolv'd to them, after the antient Race of their Kings was extinguish'd.

Christian I. This *Christian* had great Contests with the *Svedes* and *Norwegians*, who had chosen one *Charles Canison* their King; but the Differences of the last being Compos'd, and he invest'd with the Crown of *Normay*, he forced the *Svedes* likewise to Crown him King of *Sweden*, in the Year 1458. And his Uncle *Adolph*, (whose Heir he was) dying without Issue, he succeeded him in the Dukedom of *Sleswick* and Earldom of *Holstein*; which was afterwards, to wit, in the Year 1474, by the Emperour, erected into a Dukedom, King *Christian* having bought out the Claims of *Gerard* and *Ortho*, Earls of *Shauenburgh*, to those Countries, by giving to the last 43000 Florins of Gold, besides

sides some other Possessions; and to the first 50000 Marks of Silver, and the Earldom of *Oldenburgh* (reserving however, the Title to himself) as an Equivalent for his Share in those Countries. Having likewise Incorporated *Stormar*, *Wagern*, and *Ditmarsen*, with the Dukedom of *Holstein*; his Stile was: King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*; of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Wagern* and *Ditmarsen*; Earl of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*, which he left to his Successors, and is the Stile of the present King of *Denmark*, except that of *Sweden*, which the Kings of *Denmark* have laid aside since the Separation of those Crowns. He was in the Year 1474. (being then at *Rome*) invested with the Knightly Order of the Elephant, which he afterwards introduc'd in *Denmark*, at the Wedding of his Son. The Badge of the Knights of this Order is an Elephant with a Castle on its Back, set with Diamonds, and hung on a water'd Sky-colour'd Ribbon, worn in the same manner as the *George* is in *England*. This King also built that Magnificent Chappel in the Cathedral of *Rosbult*, where are to be seen the Tombs of the succeeding Kings of *Denmark*.

The Order of the Elephant.

The Tombs of the Danish Kings.

After his Death, *John*, his third Son (the two eldest being dead before) was declared King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and not long after, likewise of *Sweden*, but was forced to fight for the Possession of it with *Steen Sture*, who headed a strong Party against him, which War was finished at last to his Advantage. He also divided the Dukedom of *Holstein* with his younger Brother *Fredrick*, from whom are descended the present Dukes of that Name.

King John.

Christian II.

He was succeeded by his eldest Son *Christian II.* in the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, who, like his Father, was oblig'd to Contend for the Crown of *Sweden* with *Steen Sture*, Regent of that Kingdom; who being at last slain in an Engagement, King *Christian* exercis'd great Cruelties against his Heirs and Adherents, whose Estates, he bestowed upon the *Danes* and other Foreigners, being back'd by *Gustave Trolle*, the then Archbishop of *Sweden*, which so exasperated the *Swedes*, that as soon as they understood that the *Jutlanders* were in Rebellion against him, they took this Opportunity to chase the *Danes* out of the Kingdom, under the Conduct of *Gustave Erickson*, afterwards their King; and the *Danes* being Encourag'd by the Example of the *Swedes*, renounced likewise their Allegiance to him, and Elected *Fredrick I.* his Uncle (being the fourth Son of King *Christian I.*) in his stead.

King *Christian*
depos-
ed.

Increase of
the Power of
the Danish
Nobility.

It was under the Reign of this King the *Danish* Nobility made the greatest step towards that Grandeur they attain'd to afterwards, which at last prov'd their Ruin by that Remarkable Revolution, which happened in that Kingdom within these forty Years. For, the *Danish* Nobility being grown Rich with the Spoils they had made in *Sweden* during the Union of the Northern Crowns under one Head, laid hold of this Opportunity; after they had withdrawn themselves from the Obedience of *Christian II.* to Assert their pretended Right of Election, and, whilst *Christian* and *Fredrick* were contending for the Crown, to prescribe such Rules to the last, as to advance their own Power, both above the Royal Prerogatives and the

Memoirs of Denmark.

9

the other Estates. King *Fredrick I.* was by all understanding People look'd upon as a Prince who had a greater Share of Piety than Policy, when he suffered the Reformation of *Luther* to be introduc'd in that Kingdom, at a time, when the Nobility were already overgrown in Riches and Power; it being evident, that, the Power of the Bishops and Prelates, who hitherto had kept up in some measure the Balance, being fal'n with their Revenues, this must needs be the greatest Step that could be made by the Nobility, towards the advancing themselves not only far beyond the Clergy, but also above the other Estates. It is easily to be imagin'd, that, the Royal Prerogatives being once brought into so narrow Bounds as they were, and the Clergy's Authority in a manner quite abolish'd, the Corporations alone were not able to resist long against those, who sitting at the Helm, had the Chief Management of all Affairs of Moment, and the Peasantry, having for the most part an entire Dependence on the Nobility, as being partly their Tenants, partly their Vassals, were not in a Condition of making so much as the least Shew of Resistance against those, who were their Lords and Masters. Thus indeed the Name of the four antient Estates of *Denmark*, to wit, the Nobility, Clergy, Citizens, and Peasants remain'd, whilst all the Authority and Power was effectually lodg'd in the First, which in the succeeding Reigns did encrease to such a degree, as prov'd intolerable to the other Estates, and brought the whole Kingdom to the very brink of Destruction, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

King

Christian III

King *Fredrick I.* dying in the Year 1533, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Christian III.* but not without Great Opposition from *Christopher Earl of Oldenburgh* and the *Lubeckers*, who being back'd by several Provinces, and especially by the Bishops, left no stone unturn'd to restore King *Christian II.* (then a Prisoner in the Castle of *Calenburgh*) to the Throne; but with the Assistance of *Gustave King of Sweden*, and of the *Danish Nobility*, he overcame those Difficulties, and after he had made himself Master of *Copenhagen* (the Capital City of *Denmark*) he deposed the Bishops, and establish'd the Protestant Religion according to the Doctrine of *Luther*, upon the same Foundation, which remains to this day in *Denmark*.

The Protestant Religion Establish'd in Denmark.

Excessive Power of the Nobility in Denmark.

The Nobility in the mean while were very careful to lay hold of this Opportunity to increase their Power, to such a degree, that not only the whole Senate of the Kingdom, and all the other Great Offices of the Court were in their Possession, but also did claim a Right to all the rest of any Moment, and a Priviledge to be consulted with all in the Disposing of all Offices of Trust or Profit, tho' to be given to Noblemen. Nay they did not stick here; for they claimed a Prerogative, and actually exercis'd the same, of Appointing Magistrates in most Cities of the Kingdom, and by Depriving the rest of the Estates (both Citizens and Clergymen) of their Rights of purchasing any Lands, had brought them under an entire Subjection. They had carried Matters to such a pitch, that if by Mortgaging or otherwise, any Lands happened to fall into a Commoner's hands, he was oblig'd by a yearly publick Proclamation

clamation to proffer them to Sale to the Nobility, upon the same Terms as he was possess'd of them. It is very natural to imagine, that thereby the Citizens and Peasants were forced to depend on them, as the Possession of the Lands of the Kingdom entitling them to the Rights of Patronages, the Clergy was fain for the most part, to dance after their Pipe.

They continued to play the same Game under the Reign of his Son and Successor, *Fre-*
drick II. who being a mild Prince, and en-
tangled in a War with *Sweden*, and the *Dit-*
marsians was not in a Condition to oppose their
encroaching Power.

King Fre-
drick II.

He dying in the Year 1588, was succeeded
by his Son *Christian IV.* who being a Brave
and resolute Prince, made some steps towards
redressing the Grievances, occasioned by the
over-grown Power of the Nobility, after he
had made an Honourable Peace with the *Swedes*,
who were forced to redeem *Calmar* and *Elfs-*
burgh with Money. But being made General of
the Circle of the lower *Saxony*, he was unfortu-
nately entangled in the Civil Wars of *Germany*;
and having receiv'd a Signal Overthrow near
Kings-Lutter, saw himself reduc'd under a Ne-
cessity of making the best Terms he could with
the Imperialists, in the Year 1629. This Dis-
grace having broken all his measures at home,
the Nobility, who dreaded his Courage, were
for thwarting his Designs upon all Occasions,
especially by exempting themselves as much as
possibly could be from Taxes and other Bur-
thens, which consequently falling altogether
upon the Commons, who were not alone in a
Condition to provide for the Security of the

Christian IV,

Is disap-
pointed in his
Designs of
Clipping the
Wings of the
Nobility.

King.

Kingdom, this encourag'd the *Swedes*, then flush'd with their Victories in *Germany*, to fall with an Army first into *Holstein* and *Jutland*, and afterwards into *Schonen*, in the Year 1642, with such Success, that they had likely to have endangered the whole Kingdom, if the *Danes*, Chiefly by the extraordinary Valour of their King, had not made hard Shift to defend themselves, till by the Mediation of *France*, a Peace was concluded in the Year 1645, at *Bosembro*, by Vertue of which the *Danes* were forced to surrender *Gothland*, *Oesel*, and *Jempterland* to the *Swedes*; and the *Hollanders*, who had assisted the *Swedes* with Ships, took this Opportunity to regulate the Toll of the *Sound*, which they lower'd to one Moiety of what it was before, according to the *Danish* Book of Rates, made some Years before; so that what with this, and the Losses of the unfortunate Wars with the Emperour and the *Swedes*, this King, who died in the Year 1648, left Things in great Confusion.

*intrigues
of the Nobility
after his
Death.*

The Calamities of these two unsuccessful Wars, being Chiefly attributed to the Nobility, who had the Management of all Affairs of Moment, they were so far from abating any thing of their Pretensions, that, they sought for nothing more than a fair Opportunity to enlarge them. It is to be observ'd, that King *Christian IV.* had married several of his Daughters by a second Adventure to some of the Chiefest of the *Danish* Nobility, thereby to link them the more firm to his Interest, which prov'd quite contrary to his Expectations. For, these being strengthened by this Alliance, were for Excluding *Fredrick III.* second Son of the said

saïd *Christian IV.* (after the Death of *Christian* his elder Brother) from the Crown, and for setting up *Wolmar*, his younger Son, by a second Adventure, being back'd by a great part of the Nobility, who were for Fishing in Troubled Waters, and did not question but to find their Account in widening those Domestick Dissentions, or at least, to Aggrandize their own Power. 'Tis true, they could not compass their Design, as to the Advancement of *Wolmar* to the Throne, yet they thus far got the Point, that, before they would receive *Fredrick III.* for their King, they reduc'd the Royal Prerogatives, as well as the Condition of the Commoners into so narrow Bounds, that of the first there was nothing but the bare Title left; and the last were Excluded from all, not excepting Military Employments; so that in the succeeding War with *Sweden*, it was look'd upon as the greatest Novelty in the World, to see a Commoner above the Station of a Captain in *Denmark*; and the Nobles now began even to refuse to Allow these Taxes, which of late Years, they had paid by way of Voluntary Contributions, by which means the whole Burthen of supporting the Charges of the Government, being laid upon the Shoulders of those, who had the least Share in the Management of Affairs, and of the Profit, the Weight of it grew unsupportable to them.

In the mean while, *K. Fredrick III.* having happily surmounted those Obstacles, and looking with a very jealous Eye upon the prodigious Progresses made by the *Swedes* in *Poland*, did at the Instigation of the *Hollanders*, attack them, promising himself great Success by
King Fredrick III. enters in a War against Sweden.
 them

Great Success of the Swedes.

Peace of Roskilde.

their Assistance, at a time, when the *Swedish* Forces were at a great distance, and much weakened by many Engagements against the *Poles* and *Tartars*. But *Charles Gustave*, the *Swedish* King marched his Troops with such incredible Swift-ness, notwithstanding the badness of the Season, into *Holstein* and *Jutland*, that before the *Danes* could be Re-inforced by the *Dutch* and the rest of their Allies, he carried all before him, and took the Fortress of *Frederick's Udde* by Storm: In the next following Year, 1658, there happening an Extraordinary Frost, he marched over the Ice, first into the Isle of *Fuhnen*, where he surprised the *Danish* Troops, who little dream't of their Enemy; from thence taking his way over *Langland*, *Laland*, and *Falster*, with little Opposition from the *Danish* side, into *Zealand*. *K. Fredrick III.* astonish'd at this prodigious Success of the *Swedes*, occasioned Chiefly by the Miscarriages of his *Danish* Commanders, thought it the most prudent way to divert this imminent Danger of losing All by purchasing a Peace with the Loss of Part of the Kingdom; Pursuant to which Resolution, a Peace was Concluded at *Roskilde*, by vertue of which the *Danes* surrendered to the *Swedes*, the Countries of *Halland*, *Bleckingen* and *Shonen*, the Isle of *Bornholm*, and the Cities of *Bahus* and *Drontheim* in *Norway*; and the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, was declared independent from the Crown of *Denmark*. But this Peace had not the desired Effect; for whilst the Estates of *Denmark* were contending among themselves where to lay the Fault of the late Miscarriages, which was Chiefly attributed to the Nobility; and the Emperour, Elector of
Branden-

Brandenburgh and *Hollanders*, were underhand encouraging the *Danes* to renew the War with *Sweden*, as soon as they should have quitted the Country, or be engag'd again with *Poland*, resolved to be beforehand with them; for which Purpose, having embarqu'd his Forces in *Holstein*, under Pretence of going towards *Dantzick*, he landed unexpectedly in *Zealand*, using for a Pretence, that he was come to Compose the Differences arisen betwixt the King and the Nobility; he ordered his General *Wrangel*, to attack the strong Fortrefs of *Cronenburgh*, whilst he in Person laid Siege to the Capital City of *Copenhagen*, where he knew the Royal Family, greatest part of the Nobility, and their Riches were enclosed.

The War renewed betwixt Denmark and Sweden.

The Nobles finding themselves and the whole Kingdom reduced to this Extremity, and that all their Safety consisted in the Defence of this City, began at this time of Danger to change their Tune, and to Court those at a high rate, whom they had despised and oppressed before; they promised the Citizens of *Copenhagen* a Vote in all publick Consultations, a Priviledge to purchase Lands and Lordships, and to enjoy them with the same Rights as the Nobles did, and to be Burthen'd with no Taxes, unless such as the Nobility did pay, and that not without Publick Consent; Besides which, they were to be free from all inquarterings of Souldiers in time of Peace, and their Children to be Capable of bearing all Places of Honour and Profit equally with the Noble mens Sons. These and such like Encouragements, but especially the Presence of their King, who animated his Subjects with an incredible Constancy and Bravery

Siege of Copenhagen.

Bravely de-
fended.

Bravery at all times, and in all places, where the danger was greatest, had so powerful an influence upon the Minds of the Inhabitants, that they disputed every Inch of Ground with the *Swedes*, being resolved rather to be buried in the Ruins of their City than to submit their Necks to a Foreign Yoke; but their brave Resolution would perhaps have stood them in little stead, if the *Dutch Fleet*, which with incredible Bravery fought their Way thro' the *Swedish* Men of War and several strong Chains, that opposed their Passage, had not come very opportunely to their Relief, which obliged the *Swedish King*, after he had in vain Stormed the City, to raise the Siege.

The Siege
raised.

The *Swedes*
defeated.

The *Danes* seeing themselves relieved from this Danger, which threatned the utter Destruction of their Monarchy, and being reinforced by the *Imperialists*, *Polish* and *Brandenburgh Auxiliaries*, fought the *Swedish Army* with such success near *Wiburgh* in the Isle of *Fuhnen*, that they cut off their whole Infantry, and made most of their Horse Prisoners of War. There happened not long after another sinister Accident to the *Swedes* which made them lay aside all thoughts of Conquering their Neighbours; for their Brave King *Gustave Adolfe*, happening to die on the 23^d of *February*, in the Year 1660 they clapt up a sudden Peace with the *Poles* at *Oliva*; and the *Danes* seem'd resolv'd to pursue the Advantage they had got, yet by the Mediation of *England*, *France* and *Holland*, a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Northern Crowns at *Copenhagen*, much upon the same Conditions with that made at *Roshilt*, two years before, except that the Isle of *Bornholm*, and
Drontheim

Drontheim in *Norway* remained in the Possession of the *Danes*.

Peace of Copenhagen.

Assembly of the Estates of Denmark.

It is no difficult matter to judge that so unfortunate a War had reduced the whole Kingdom to a Miserable Condition; to redress which, and to provide for the Payment of the Souldiers, the *King* call'd together an Assembly of the Estates towards the beginning of *October*, which began with great Animosities, and consequently with no small Contests betwixt the Nobility and Commons; the last laying the Calamities sustain'd by the last War, and the Occasion of their impending Danger, chiefly at the door of the Nobles, who sitting at the Helm, had by their Miscarriages opened a door to the Enemy, by which to enter into the Heart of the *Kingdom* without opposition; On the other hand the Nobles appear'd so little concern'd at the publick Calamity, that tho' they knew the Country exhausted of Money by so unexpected an Invasion, they would not abate an Ace of their pretended Prerogatives, but were resolute to lay the whole burthen of Discharging the Souldiers, and repairing the Losses sustain'd in the last War upon the Shoulders of the two other Estates, to wit: The Commonalty and Clergy. This, I say, caused very warm Debates in the Assembly, those, who had behaved themselves with so much Bravery in the Defence of their Capital City and the whole Kingdom, fearing, not without reason, that, after the Danger was pass'd, they should be bereaved of the fruits of their Victories, and the priviledges promised to them in time of Imminent Danger by those very Nobles, who now setting aside all other Considera-

derations, did, according to their wonted Custom, consult more their own Grandeur than the present exigency of Affairs. This made *Nanſon*, Preſident of *Copenhagen* and then Speaker of the Commons, break out into very ſmart expreſſions, repreſenting to them in what manner thoſe who had been ſo instrumental in delivering their Native Country from a Foreign Yoak were likely to be treated by thoſe very Perſons, who had been the occaſion of all the Calamities the Kingdom had groan'd under, for theſe many years paſt; and that the leaſt ſatisfaction they could make at this time, was, to bear an equal Share in thoſe Taxes which muſt of neceſſity be Levied to ſupply the publick Neceſſity, and to confirm them in thoſe Priviledges, granted not long before, when any dangerous Enterpriſes were to be undertaken. The Nobles finding themſelves toucht in the moſt ſenſible part, and unwilling to abate any thing from their former Grandeur, by ſuffering thoſe, whom they look'd upon no otherwiſe than their Vaſſals, to ſpeak with ſo much Boldneſs; made very ſevere and bitter Replies to the Speaker, and one *Otto Cragge*, a Man of Great Authority among the Nobility, did not ſtick to tell them; *That they being no more than Slaves, ought to uſe more Reſpect to the Nobility who were reſolved to maintain their Right to the utmoſt.*

Nanſon the Speaker perceiving the Commons to be highly offended at theſe words, by a loud Murmur which run all over the Hall, aroſe from his Seat, and briskly replied, *That he was well aſſured the Commons would not take the name of Slaves from the Nobility, which they ſhould*

should soon be convinced of to their Cost. After which the Assembly broke up, and the Commons Marched in good order to the *Bremers Hall*, there to consult how to suppress the Insolence of the Nobility.

*Difference
between the
Nobility and
Commons.*

Nanjon then reassumed the former Theme, representing to the Commons, how by the mismanagement of the Nobility, who had Lorded it over the *King* and People, they were reduced to those Calamities, they had undergone; of which he gave them several Instances, which were as yet in fresh Remembrance; and among the rest, that of the Castle of *Cronenburgh*, which being the strongest and most considerable Fortrefs of the whole Kingdom, and provided with a sufficient Garrison and suitable Ammunition was surrendered by the three Governours (being *Danish* Noble Men) to the *Swedish* General *Wrangel*, meerly out of Fear, he having, by discharging his Cannon, and other demonstrations of Joy, deceived them into a Belief, that the City of *Copenhagen* was taken by the *Swedish* Army. He represented to them with what an undaunted Courage they had seen their *King* bear the publick Calamities as well as his own, and, how often he had exposed his Person, for their Preservation; and therefore proposed as the only Means to avoid the same Dangers they had lately groan'd under, and to deliver themselves from the Tyrannical Yoak of the Nobility, to settle the Crown upon the Antient Foundation, by declaring the Succession Hereditary, and putting the Absolute Power of governing the Realm into the *King's* Hands. This Proposition being approved of by a General

Consent

Consent both of the Commonalty and Clergy, the execution of it was appointed against next Morning; the super-Intendent *Swan*, who Headed the Clergy, and *Nanfon* in the mean while communicated their Design to *Hannibal Seastede*, then Chief Minister of State, and a great Politician. By which means the *King* received notice of the Intensions of the Commons; but such was his Modesty, as to declare, that he could not but be extremely well satisfied with their Resolution of making the Succession Hereditary, provided the Nobles could be prevailed upon to concur with them; but that he never desired to be Absolute, nor did think it Beneficial for the Kingdom, which thereby might be exposed to danger hereafter.

The next Morning no sooner appear'd, but the Nobles, over secure in their own Grandeur, and not in the least imagining that those, whom they had been used to Tyrannize over at pleasure, durst attempt a thing of such a Nature, met, as usual, in the Council House, in hopes, that the Commons, after their first Heat was spent, would be ready to submit to what should be propos'd to them. But scarce were they entred upon the Business to be debated that day, when word was brought, that the Commons were Marching towards the Council Chamber to desire their concurrence, in making an Offer to the *King*, of a Hereditary and Sovereign Dominion.

It is easie to imagine, how great was their Surprize in so nice a juncture, considering especially that they had no leisure to consult what was to be done in this present Exigency; In the mean while, the two Estates being head-
ed

ed by *Nanſon*, entred the Hall, where the Speaker told them in a ſhort Speech, That the Commons, after mature deliberation, how to deliver the Kingdom from the many Oppreſſions and Calamities it had ſuffered of late years, had found this the only and moſt expedient Remedy to render the Succeſſion Hereditary, and to Enlarge the Royal Prerogatives; That they deſired their ſpeedy concurrence in the Matter, which if they reſuſed, they were reſolved to do it without them. You might have read the Surprize occaſioned by ſo unexpected a Propoſition in every Man's Face, thoſe who the day before had carried themſelves ſo Inſolently towards the Commons, now looking upon one another with dejected Countenances, finding now too late, that thoſe whom they had look'd upon as Slaves, had put themſelves in a Condition to be their Maſters, by engaging the Court, Clergy and Army into their Party. In the miſt of thoſe Diſtractions, the Commons inſiſting peremptorily upon an Answer, they told them, that what had been done by the Commons in favour of the Royal Family and the Publick Good, was very acceptable to them; That they were willing to concur with the Commons in ſo good a Work, but deſired only ſome ſmall time, to conſider, how to proceed with that Precaution, as was abſolutely requiſite for the Accompliſhment of a Thing of ſuch vaſt Conſequence.

Whilſt theſe Debates laſted, the Nobility had found means to ſend ſome Deputies to Court, (unknown to the Commons) who being admitted into the King's preſence, told him in the Name of the whole Body of the Nobility; That

*Offer of the
Crown to be
Hereditary
to the Heirs
Males.*

the Proposition made to them by the Commons, of making the Monarchy Hereditary, had been so sudden and unexpected, that it was impossible for them to proceed in an Affair of such Moment with so much Deliberation, as the Case requir'd; but that however, to shew their Readiness in Concurring with the other Estates in any thing which might be thought conducing to the Publick Good, and the Advancement of the Royal Family, they were sent to make a Tender of the Crown to be Hereditary for the future to His Majesty and His Heirs Males; which as it proceeded from a pure Sense of their Gratitude to His Majesty, so they hoped he would accept of the Offer, and engage the Commons to join with them in so Great and Useful an Undertaking, by such Methods, as were usually practis'd in Conventions, when Affairs of Great Moment were to be taken in hand.

*The Kings
Answer.*

The King receiv'd this Message with an unparallel'd Presence of Mind, and without shewing the least Alteration either in his Countenance or Action, he told them with a great deal of indifference, That the Offer they were come to make him, could not but be very Acceptable to him, provided it had been without that Limitation, by which the Females were excluded from the Succession; that, if they would look back into their own antient Histories, they could not but be sensible, that the Government of the Females had not been look'd upon by their Ancestors with the same eyes as they did; that this Consideration was so prevailing with him, that he hoped, they would not take it amiss, if he could not accept of their Offer at this time, under those Restrictions; not that he intended

to prescribe them Rules in a Case, which he was sensible was in their Disposal, but advised them to take it into more serious Consideration; which done, he should be willing to concur with them in any thing, which should be approved by the General Consent of the Convention, as conducing to the Advancement of the Publick Good.

This Answer of the King has furnished sufficient Matter to the Politicians to reflect upon the Conduct of the Nobility, it being agreed on by all hands, that, provided they had at this Juncture made a seasonable Tender of an Hereditary Crown, without Exclusion of the Females, and had with a Courage becoming their Grandeur, join'd with the Commons in making this Offer, they might for the rest, have obtained what they pleas'd from the King, or at least prevented their Ruin, by preserving some of their Priviledges and Liberties, it being evident from the King's Answer, given to *Hansbal Seastede*, after the first Intention of the Commons was known, that his Aim was not at the Absolute Sovereignty, but (as he told the Deputies of the Nobility) to have the Crown settled upon the same Terms as it had been enjoy'd by his Ancestors; but the Nobles being distracted with the Surprize of the suddenness of the Thing, and the Consternation occasioned by the imminent Danger of parting with their ill-gotten Prerogatives, they, whilst they let slip this Opportunity of saving a Part, were the unhappy Instruments of losing the Whole, as will appear out of the Sequel of this History.

For, whilst they were in Expectation of the Return of their Deputies, the Commons, who began to be suspicious of this Delay, shew'd a great deal of Impatience, and when the Nobles desir'd a little more time to consult about an Affair of so Great Weight, the President told them roundly; That the Commons were not so blind, as not to perceive that these were only Shifts, invented by the Nobility, to gain Time and Opportunity to thwart their Design; That therefore, if they were willing to join with them in the Resolution taken by the Commons, they were ready, if not, they were resolv'd to make the Offer without their Concurrence; which the Nobles, being unwilling to comply with, the Commons, headed by the Bishop and the Speaker, went forthwith to Court, where, being conducted by *Hanibal Stastede*, the Chief Minister of State, into the King's Presence; the Bishop, in the Name of the Commons, offered in a set Harangue, the Hereditary Crown, and an Absolute Sovereignty without Limitation to the King, with an Assurance, that they were ready to make good this Offer against all Opposers, with their Lives and Fortunes, as believing it the only Means to redress their Grievances, and to secure the Publick Good.

The Commons offer the Hereditary Sovereignty to the King.

The King told them, that such a Tender as this could not but be Grateful to him, especially from his Subjects, who had given him such ample Testimonies of their Fidelity and Valour so lately, in defending his Person, Royal Family and the Kingdom; that all this should remain in constant Remembrance with him, and they might rest assured of his Royal Protection,

and

and all the Encouragement due to the Merits of such good Subjects; But it was absolutely requisite, before he could accept of their Offer, the Nobles should concur with them (as he had all the Reason to believe they would) in this Point, for which Reason, it would be necessary they should continue their Session, till the Nobility, after a mature Deliberation, might join with them in settling the design'd Establishment.

Whilst these things were transacting at Court, ^{The Nobility in great Distracted.} the Nobles were at the greatest Plunge what to resolve upon at this critical Juncture; They knew the Commons were gone to Court without them, and their Deputies had brought them by this time the unwelcome News of their ill Success, which put them into such a Distraction, that it was resolv'd, to Adjourn the further Debate of the Matter till next day. In the meanwhile, some of their Body, who began to dread the Event, took this Opportunity to slip privately out of Town. This was not so secretly done, but that some of the leading Men of the Adverse Party, having got Scent of it, and fearing that the rest, encouraged by their Example, might frustrate their Design, by retiring into their respective Countries, it was proposed to the King, as the only Means to prevent the breaking up the Session in a tumultuous manner, to Order the Gates of the City to be kept shut up, till the Matter might be brought to a Conclusion; Orders being accordingly sent to the Governour *Schaecht* (who was in the Interest of the Commons, and had signaliz'd himself lately in the Defence of the City) it was immediately put in execution, by the Town Mayor. Most

Their Sur-
prize.

Most of the Nobles happened to be the same Afternoon at the Funeral of one of the Chiefest *Danish* Senators, which in those Northern Countries are Solemniz'd with a great deal of Splendor and very good Cheer; Whilst they were driving away Sorrows by letting the Bumpers go round briskly, enters the Town Mayor (he being also invited to assist at the Solemnity) and, after the first Glass, told him who sat next to him at the Table, that the Gates of the City were shut up; so odd and unexpected a piece of News being soon Whispered round the Company, they began all on a sudden to change their Countenances, being seised with dreadful Apprehensions; and looking upon the Town Mayor no otherwise than the Messenger of Death, they began one after another to ask what Destiny was prepared for them; The Mayor, who was scarce able to keep his Countenance (when he saw those who had so lately Lorded it both over King and People, seised with a Panick Fear upon such an Occasion as this) told them, that they made a wrong Judgment of the King's Intentions, whose Actions had been always such, as not to give them the least room, to suspect any sinister Accident; that indeed the Gates had been shut by the King's Special Order, but that he believed they needed not fear any thing, the King's Intention being, that they should pursue the Publick Business they were met about.

This Answer of the Mayor seemed in some measure to revive their drooping Spirits, but did not remove the Remnants of Fear; For, considering with themselves, that if they should persist any longer in their Refusal of complying with the Commons, they might lay hold of this

Opport-

Opportunity to revenge themselves for the Wrongs receiv'd at their hands, by calling them to an Account for those many past Mis-carriages, and the ensuing Calamities, which they were sensible they would lay at their doors, especially at this Juncture, when they were back'd by the Court and Army. The apprehensions of these dreadful Consequences, (which were not altogether groundless) being more prevailing upon them than the Consideration of the Loss of their Priviledges and Liberty, it was judg'd absolutely necessary (after some short Consultations, such as the Time and Place could allow of) that since they had miss'd the last Opportunity of making Terms for themselves, to make an Absolute Resignation of all, by complying with the Commons; of which Resolution they gave immediate Notice, by some deputed out of their own Body, to the King and the other Estates.

Their Compliance with the Commons.

The King having accepted their offer, and willing that the Homage should be performed with all the Solemnity that possibly could be upon so extraordinary an Occasion, ordered every thing to be got ready for it, in order to which, a large Scaffold was erected in the place before the Palace, upon which the King, Queen and Royal Family being mounted on the 27. October, and placed upon Chairs under Canopies richly Adorned, received the Homage of the Senators, Nobility, the Chief of the Clergy and Commons, in the presence of the Citizens of Copenhagen and the Garrison, who appeared all in Arms in their best Apparel.

They Surrender their priviledges and liberties.

It was one of the most surprising things in the World, to see those very Men, who but a few days before had carried things on with so much Haugh-

Haughtiness, to resign so tamely at once all their Priviledges, which they had been raising to that pitch of Greatness, as to become insupportable to the Kingdom, by a continued Series of Designs for several Ages past; it being very remarkable, that among all these Persons of Quality and Birth, there was not one, who, during those three days, that were taken up with making the necessary Preparations for this Solemnity, attempted by protestation or otherwise, to shew his Sense of the Loss of their Power and Liberty, for which they stood Chiefly indebted to their own ill Conduct and Insolent Behaviour.

I was the more willing to trace the true Origin of the Antient *Danish* Monarchy, and the Causes of its Various changes, to shew the World by what Steps the Nobility arrived to that pitch of Greatness, which at once proved the Occasion of their Fall, and of many other Mischiefs which have either preceded or attended it, and which will insensibly lead us into the better knowledge of the true State of Affairs, under the Reign of their late King *Christian V.* whose Life and Reign we are to give you an Account of in the following Chapters; from whence it will appear, that, as at the beginning of his Reign he found the Kingdom involved in no small Troubles, occasioned by the discontents of those who could not be so soon forgetful of their *Darling Grandeur*, and by the Danger from a Potent neighbouring Enemy, so he struggled thro' all these Obstacles with an uncommon Constancy, till he left the Kingdom in a much better Condition to his Son, *Frederick IV.* who lately ascended the *Danish* Throne.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
Christian V.
Late KING of
Denmark and Norway, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the Condition of the Kingdom of Denmark, at the Time of King Christian V. his Accession to the Throne.

KING Frederick III. had by Sophia Emilia of the House of Lunenburgh, a Numerous Issue, to wit: Two Princes and four Princesses. The eldest was *Christian*, born in the year 1646, on the 15th of *April*, in the Castle of *Flensburgh*, whilst

whilst his Father was yet Arch-Bishop of *Bremen*, his Grandfather *K. Christian IV.* being his Godfather. The second *Anna Sophia* born in the year 1647, Married to the then Elector of *Saxony*, *John George* in the year 1666. The third *Frederick Emilia*, was born in the year 1648. Married in the year 1667. to *Christian Adolph* the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*. The fourth *Gulielmetta Ernestina*, Born in the year 1650, given in Marriage to *Charles* the late Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. The fifth was *George*, Born in the year 1653, and Married to the Lady *Anna Stuart*, second Daughter of *James*, then Duke of *York* and *Albany*. The youngest *Ulrica Eleonora Sabina*, Born in the year 1654, Married to *Charles XII.* the late King of *Sweden*.

King *Frederick III.* after he saw himself delivered from his Foreign Enemies by the late Peace, and from the intestine Divisions by the late remarkable Revolution, applied all his Care in restoring the decayed State of the Kingdom, by new modelling his Army, and putting his Frontier Places in a State of Defence. The Education of his eldest Son *Christian* he committed to the Management of *Otto Skade*, his Governour, one of the Senators of the Kingdom; and to the *Sieur Mathesius*, his Tutor, afterwards *Danish* Resident in the City of *Dantzick*.

In the Year 1655, the said Prince was by the States of *Denmark* declared Successor to his Father *Frederick* in that Kingdom; and soon after receiv'd Homage accordingly at *Wiburgh* in *Jutland*: The States of *Norway* following their Example, performed the same in the following Year 1656, at *Christiania*, the Capital City of that Kingdom; whither he was sent in the Year

1661 (the next after the Great Revolution) with a good Squadron of Men of War, under the Conduct of the then Lord Treasurer, *Haniel Seastede*, the Lord Chancellor *Reers*, and the Archbishop *Hans Swana*, to receive Homage of the States, as Hereditary Prince.

But King *Frederick* having observed in this young Prince a most particular Inclination to Martial Exploits, during the last Siege of *Copenhagen*, where being animated by the undaunted Constancy and Bravery of his Father, he had given such singular Proofs of his active Spirit, as far surpassed his Age; and being desirous to give all possible Encouragement to his Noble Designs, which were to improve himself by Travelling in foreign Countries, he sent him abroad in the Year 1662, under the Conduct of *Christopher Parsberg*, a Person, who had signaliz'd himself by his Great Experience in the Management of Matters of the highest Moment, in Consideration of which, he was afterwards dignified with the Title of an Earl, and that of Vice-Chancellor of *Denmark*. They took their Way by Land through the united Provinces, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, where after having taken a View of the Chief Cities of those Provinces, they arriv'd at *Calais* in *France*, towards the beginning of *September*; where being met by several Yachts, sent by *Charles II.* then King of *England*, they took the first Opportunity of Transporting themselves into this Kingdom, and arriv'd safely in a few days after at *London*. Here he receiv'd the Compliments of the Chiefest of the *English Nobility* (being lodg'd in *Exeter-House*, and defrayed at the King's Charge) and having visited both our Universities, and being

K. Chri-
stian V. Tra-
vels.

created

created a Knight Companion of the most Noble Order of the Garter, he return'd, after a Stay of two Months, by the Way of *Dover* into *France*. There was at that time residing in *Paris*, in the Quality of *Danish* Ambassadour Extraordinary, the beforementioned *Hanibal Scafsede*, who, had made himself remarkable by his Conduct in Managing the late Revolution in *Denmark*. Prince *Christian* was lodged in the said Ambassadours Pallace, where he received the Visits of all the Princes of the Blood, and of the Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* Kings own Brother in particular; and before his departure from that City, was presented by the King with a Sword and Belt set with Diamonds. After a stay of twelve Months in *France*, he left *Paris*, in order to pursue his Journey to *Italy*, but by special Command from his Father King *Frederick*, was stop't at *Grenoble*, to return thro' *Germany*.

Among other Courts of the Princes of the Empire, he visited that of *William Landgrave* of *Hessen Cassel*, where he fell in Love with that incomparable Princess *Charlotta Emilia*, the Daughter of the said *Landgrave*; so that after his return into *Denmark*, he would not rest satisfied till he had obtained his Royal Father's Consent to Marry that Princess; which Match was consummated at the Royal Seat of *Amalienburgh*, on the tenth day of *May* in the year 1667.

King *Frederick* III. happening to die towards the latter end of the year 1669. was succeeded by his eldest Son *Christian* V. who found the Kingdom involved in great Troubles, by reason of the ill State of the Kingdom, quite exhausted by the late unsuccessful Wars, and the heavy Taxes which were of Necessity to be laid upon

upon the People to Maintain a sufficient Force against the Danger that threatned them from an Enemy, whose Power being encreased of late, by their losses, they had all the reason to Fear would for the future Improve the Antient Hatred betwixt those two Northern Nations, to his Advantage. For, after the Swedes had once found Means to untie the Knot of that Union which was in former Ages made betwixt these Northern Crowns, they made such Encroachments upon their Neighbours, as (by degrees) to render themselves formidable to all *Europe*; whereas some Ages before, they were scarce in a Condition to Cope with *Denmark* alone. For they Wrested *Carelia* out of the Hands of the *Muscovites* which serves them for a Bulwark on the side of *Finland*; the like they did with the Provinces of *Ingermanland*, *Esthen* and *Liesland*, all very Fertile Countries, the last being the Granary of *Swedeland*. The City of *Riga*, the Capital of *Liesland*, Situate upon the River *Duina*, being of the utmost Consequence to the *Swedish* Crown, by reason of its Commerce with *Muscovy*, *Lithuania* and *Courland*. But what is to be look'd upon as the most Considerable of all, were their late Conquests on the side of *Norway* and *Denmark*; in the first they had extended their Limits to the Mountains that divide that Kingdom from *Sweden*, by making themselves Masters of the two Provinces of *Jempterland* and *Hchrendahlen*; in the last they had Guarded their Frontiers by the Conquest of the Provinces of *Halland*, *Bleckingen*, *Shonen*, and *Bahus*; the three first of which being Situate on the other side of the Sound, and the

The State of Denmark after the death of King Frederick.

last just above it, and consequently Opposite to the *Danish Shoar*. The Kingdom of *Sweden*, which formerly lay Exposed to the *Danes* for above fifty Leagues together, has, by making the *Sound* the common Boundary of their Dominions on that side, secured it self against any Attempt of the *Danes*, which, as the Case now stands, cannot be undertaken thereabouts without a vast Charge and great Hazard.

The Acquisitions of the *Swedes* in *Germany*, have been look'd upon by some as of no great Consequence to them, by reason of their great distance, they being not to be succoured by that Crown, but by the *Baltick*; which occasioned a warm Debate among the *Swedish* Senators, at the time of the *Westphalian Treaty*; some among them being of Opinion, that because they could scarce be maintain'd without a great deal of Trouble, they would rather be a Burthen, than an Advantage to them; and advised therefore, that another equivalent would turn to a much better Account, than those remote Provinces, which, in time, by the Jealousy of its Neighbouring Princes, might entangle them in a foreign War, at a great distance from Home. But those who were of another Sentiment, urg'd, that they ought not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity to get a firm footing in the Empire, by annexing those Provinces with the Kingdom of *Sweden*, which would entitle them to a considerable Share in the Management of the Affairs of *Europe*; that by being possess'd of the strong City, and Port of *Wisnar*, and the Maritim Cities of *Pomerania*, they had a fair opportunity to encrease their Naval Strength, and to keep a Communication in the *Baltick*.
But

But what most of all turn'd the Ballance on the side of the last, was, that from the Dukedom of *Bremen*, they might attack *Denmark* in its most sensible and best Part on the *German* side, where the Territories of both the Northern Crowns are divided only by the River *Elbe*.

The *Danes* had been made sensible of the Truth of this Maxim to their Cost, in the late War of 1657, 1658, the Smart of which was so fresh in their Memory, that King *Christian V.* immediately after his Accession to the Throne, made it his Chiefest care to put his Military Affairs into such a Posture, as to be able to Cope with so potent a Neighbour, whenever occasion should offer; for which purpose, he omitted nothing which he thought might contribute to the Defence of the Kingdom, by raising and repairing Fortifications in all such Places as were most exposed to the Attacks of an Enemy, and introducing a good Martial Discipline among his Troops, under the Command of experienced and faithful Officers, being for the most part *Germans*. But there was another Obstacle, which, as it was near home, so it was the more Dangerous; This was the Jealousy conceiv'd at the Proceedings of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, who owing his Sovereignty over the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, obtained by the Treaty of *Roskilde*, to the *Swedes*, was supposed to stand in a good Correspondence with that Crown, the better to maintain himself in the Possession of it. 'Tis true, the *Danes* endeavour'd by giving one of their Princesses in Marriage to the said Duke, to link him again to their Interest; but as the Ties of Matrimony very seldom stand in competition with Interest (especially

D 2

among

among Princes) so this Alliance was so far from answering the desired Effect, that the *Danes* found every day new Matter of Jealousy at the Duke's Proceedings, which at last broke out into a Rupture, which is not composed to this day ; And these Domestick Divisions having been in agitation for above these twenty Years last past, and are at this time the Chief Entertainment of *Europe*, we will trace its Origin in the following Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Origin of the Differences betwixt Denmark, and the House of Holstein Gottorp.

TO search to the root of those Differences, we must go back as far as the Year 1449, when *Christian I.* Earl of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*, being elected King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, (and afterwards likewise of *Sweden*) *Adolph* his Uncle by the Mother-side, was Duke of *Sleswick* and Earl of *Holstein*, the first being a Fief of the Crown of *Denmark*, at least five hundred Years before, the last a Fief of the Empire. *Adolph* dying without Issue, King *Christian I.* succeeded him both in *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, and he dying in the Year 1481, left two Sons behind him, *John*, who succeeded him in the Northern Kingdoms, and *Frederick*, who was afterwards elected King of *Denmark*, instead of the deposed King *Christian II.* Son to King *John*. After the Death of King *Christian I.* *Dorothy* of *Brandenburgh*, his Queen Relict, being a very Politick Woman, who had a most powerful Influence upon the Estates of those Dukedoms, and being extreamly fond of her younger Son, proposed to the said Estates, that by vertue of a peculiar Priviledge granted to them by King *Christian I.* at the time of his Accession to the Throne of *Denmark*, and afterwards to the

Dukedoms; and according to his Last Will and Testament (the last of which was found defective) it was in their Power to chuse, which of his Sons they liked best, for their Prince. *John* the elder Brother, at the Assembly of the Estates in the City of *Kiel*, represented to them that his Mothers Demand in behalf of his younger Brother *Frederick*, was directly opposite to the *Fendatory* Laws both of *Denmark* and the Empire, by vertue of which the eldest Son had an unquestionable Right of Succession, which had been confirmed by the Practice of many Ages. He alledged, and not without great Reason, That the Northern Crowns being then elective, if by a more powerful Interest, or any other Sinister Accident his Posterity should be excluded from these Crowns, they would be left destitute, whilst the younger House enjoyed the Inheritance of Great and plentiful Territories. These Reasons, founded upon true Matter of Fact, wrought so powerfully upon the Estates (who before were for excluding *John* from the Succession) that to satisfy in some measure the just Demands of the eldest Brother, and to shew their Passion for the younger, and the Queen his Mother, they pitch'd upon this Expedient, to divide the said two Dukedoms, Share and share alike, betwixt the two Brothers. But their fundamental Constitution, being built upon this Bottom, that they should for ever remain entire, without being divided or dismembred, the said Division was made under certain Conditions of a perpetual *Communion* and *Union*, of which we shall have occasion to speak frequently hereafter.

Duke

Duke *Frederick* being after the Deposition of his Nephew King *Christian II.* Elected King, the two Dutchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* were re-United with the-Crown of *Denmark*, and the States being by this Time made Sensible of the Inconveniences arisen from this Division, (tho' under the strictest Union that could be) obtained from the said King *Frederick*, immediately after his Accession to the Throne, to Sign an Act, confirmed by his Oath, That those Dutchies should for ever after be one inseparable entire Body. But his Son and Successor King *Christian III.* a Prince, who had a great deal of Tenderness for his younger Brothers, did, notwithstanding this, fall into the same Error; and in the Year 1544, make another Division of those two Dukedoms betwixt himself and his two Brothers, *John* and *Adolph*; the youngest of all, whose Name was *Frederick*, being provided for by several good Ecclesiastical Benefices, viz. with the Bishopricks of *Hildesheim* and *Sleswick*; besides that, he was Co-adjutor to the Archbishop of *Bremen*: and *John* the second of the Brothers happening to die not long after without Issue, his Share was again divided betwixt King *Christian III.* and his Brother *Adolph*, the Founder of that Branch of the Family, which is called, the *Holstein Gottorp* Line.

The whole World being surpris'd at this Division, contrary to the express Act and Oath of King *Frederick I.* And the Estates exclaiming against a Procedure, which struck at the very Root of their fundamental Constitution; K. *Christian III.* thought by founding this Division upon the Basis of a strict *Communion* and *Union*, to satisfy both his Father's Intention and his

*Union be-
twixt Den-
mark and
Holstein.*

own Inclinations, which were bent to favour his Brothers. For this purpose, it was agreed, not only betwixt the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* and the said Dukes, but also betwixt the several Dukes in respect to one another (as the Words of the said Union in the low *Saxon* Tongue express it in plain Terms) That there should be a perpetual and inseperable Union in the Datchy of *Sleswick*, and a Communion in the Dukedom of *Holstein*; by vertue of which (besides, that the first remain'd a Fief of the Crown of *Denmark*) each had his Share allow'd him, which was left to his proper Management in reference to all private and Domestick Affairs, as also to the Inferiour Courts of Justice; But as to what related to the Superiour Courts of Judicature, as to the calling together the States, Imposing and Collecting of Taxes, as also all other Matters relating to the Publick Exercise of the Government, all those, I say, were by Vertue of this Union to remain in Community among them; for which purpose it was thought most expedient, to settle a High Court of Judicature, unto which all Appeals were to be brought, and in which Sentence was to be given both in the King and Duke's Names, in which each should Chuse a President in his turn, every other Year.

Reasons for
his Union.

King *Christian III.* being Sensible, that without the greatest Injustice in the World, he could not dismember the Dukedom of *Sleswick* from *Denmark*, being the Bulwark of that Kingdom on the *German* side, thought by this Means to Preserve the Sovereignty of it to that Crown, and by the strict Tie and Union of a joint Government and Mutual Defence betwixt them, to provide for the Security of his Posterity.

riety. This is that Famous Union, made in the Year 1533, betwixt the King and Kingdom of *Denmark* on one side, and the Dukes of *Holstein* on the other, as the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp's* Ministers would have it; whereas the *Danes* alledge that it was not only made betwixt the King and the Duke's, as King, but also as Duke of *Sleswick* from those Words in the Patent of the Union; *Wherefore we altogether, one for another, both sides, as likewise each in his own behalf, &c.*

This Union was Confirmed, Enlarg'd and Explain'd in the Year 1623, betwixt *Christian IV.* King of *Denmark*, and *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, when, among other things it was expressly Agreed on, That their Posterity should be obliged to renew this Union at the time of their first Accession to the Regency, as is manifest from the Copy of the said Union, Printed by the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp's* Order, in the Year 1696. This Union and good Intelligence continued for above a Hundred and fifty Years betwixt those two Houses; and, if any Differences happened, they were made up by an Amicable Composition, according to the Tenour of the Union, (of which there are several Instances) till about fifty Years ago, the Foundation of those Differences were laid by *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, in receding from the Original Union, and siding with that Famous Warrior, *Charles Gustave*, King of *Sweden*.

The Union
renewed.

C H A P. III.

*The Occasion and Causes of the Differences
betwixt Denmark and the House of Hol-
stein Gottorp.*

THE Precautions taken by the Ancestors of those two Houses, to Unite them both in Point of Interest and Government, did at last prove too Weak to subsist without a remarkable Interruption; For, after *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* had abdicated that Kingdom, *Charles Gustave* her Cousin, Prince Palatine of *Deux-ponts* succeeded her; a Man of whom it must be confess'd, that he was Endowed with all Qualifications, becoming a King; but withal of an unmeasurable Ambition, and whose Designs were as great as ever any of the greatest Hero's of Antiquity: To confirm which, I cannot pass by in silence, what Monsieur *Terton*, who was Ambassadour of the *French* King to both the Northern Crowns, about that time, says in his Memoirs concerning *Charles Gustave* King of *Sweden*, who speaking one day of *Denmark* and *Norway* in his presence, said: *As soon as I have Conquer'd them, all the other Princes and States will be glad to be quiet, and not trouble themselves to Restore the King of Denmark; and whilst they are busie to out-vie one another by Traffick, I will find a way, what with the Alliances already made, and*

*Ambition
of Charles
Gustave King
of Sweden.*

some

Some others, to unite those Conquests with, and Establish my self so well in Sweden, as to make all the Neighbouring Countries, nay even those at a great distance, dread Us. He used often to say, and so would the Earl of Slippenbach, continues Monsieur Terlon: When I once have made My self Master of the North, I will go with a very Potent Army and Fleet, like a second Alaric, to Italy, to force Rome to submit its Neck once more under the Yoke of the Goths. And to speak the Truth, if we reflect upon the Great Enterprizes of this King, his Actions were altogether suitable to the Character given him by this Ambassadour; that he was as active in the Cabinet Council, as he was in the Camp.

Among other Projects which were contriv'd to compass his Great Designs, one of the most refined Pieces of Policy, was his Marriage with Hedwig Eleonore, the Daughter of Frederick Duke of Holstein Gottorp; For, being sensible that without the Conquest of Denmark, he could not promise himself any Considerable Success against the Empire, he did not question, but by this Alliance to draw that Duke into his Party; by which Means he might facilitate his Conquest on that side, and bereave the King of Denmark, in some measure, of the Communication with the Princes of the Empire; or, at least to put such a Thorn in his Foot, by the Neighbourhood of this Duke, as would disenable him to stir, whilst he was putting his Design in execution against Poland.

His Marriage with the Duke of Holstein's Daughter.

For, no sooner had he secur'd himself on that side, but he began to make Preparations for the Enterprize against the Poles, upon a very weak Pretence; and notwithstanding they sent an Amba-

His Wars in Poland.

Ambassadour to his Court, who offered all the Satisfaction that reasonably could be desired, and that in very submissive Terms; he, not long after entred that Kingdom with his Army, where he carried All before him: These incredible Progresses, but especially his Conquests in *Prussia*, opened the Eyes of All the Princes of *Europe*, who now began plainly to see, that his Aim was no less than to be Master of the Whole *Baltick*. *Frederick III.* King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, being most nearly concern'd, by reason of the Neighbourhood of their Territories, the first upon the Continent of *Sweden*, the second in *Pomerania* and *Prussia*, to stop the Carrier of his Victories, entred into an Alliance for that purpose, being underhand back'd by the Emperour and *Hollanders*: Pursuant to which, King *Frederick III.* who had all the Reason to fear, that the Storm would fall upon him next, began the Fray, by entring the Dukedom of *Bremen*.

King Charles Gustave,
Denmark and
Sweden.

King *Charles Gustave*, finding himself attack'd so near home, thought it more for his Purpose to suspend the Execution of his Designs in *Poland*, than to run the Hazard of losing his Conquests in *Germany*; for which Reason, having left some Forces in *Prussia*, under the Command of his Brother, *John Adolph*, he march'd with all the rest towards the River *Elbe*, leaving the Brave *Ragotzi*, Prince of *Transylvania*, to the Mercy of the *Poles*. King *Frederick III.* did flatter himself, that the Union of their Families might be more prevailing with the Duke of *Holstein*, than his Affinity with *Sweden*; and that therefore the *Swedish* Troops, tired with the Fatigues of many Engagements and a long March

March, would not be in a Condition to act for a considerable time, in a Place, where few or no Magazines were erected for their Subsistence; But he found to his Cost, that there had been a secret Correspondence betwixt those two Princes against his Interest for a considerable time before; For, in lieu of opposing their Passage, he provided them with all Necessaries, which enabled them afterwards to push their Conquests into the very heart of *Denmark*.

The Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp*, did excuse the Duke's not opposing their Passage, by the Necessity he lay under at that time of preserving an exact Neutrality betwixt two Enemies more Potent than himself, to preserve his Country from an imminent Devastation; but the before mentioned Monsieur *Terton*, seems to have unfolded this Riddle, when he says: *The Duke of Holstein, besides his near Affinity to the King, (Charles Gustave) was in a strict Alliance with Sweden; and it was he, that expressly sent his own Secretary, the Sieur Pauli, to his Son-in-Law in Poland, to give him an Account of what was transacting in Denmark.* And in another Passage, speaking of the *Brandenburghers* having taken *Gottorp*, he adds these Words: *The Duke of Holstein now found to his Cost, that the War he was engaged in, barely on the Account of his Daughter being Married to the Swedish King, would prove the Ruine of his Country.* Which makes him also affirm for a positive Truth, that, when he saw the said Duke *Frederick* at the time of the second Rupture betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the Duke told him with Tears in his Eyes, that he now foresaw what was likely to befall him, to his unspeakable Grief; and truly not without great Reason,

Reason of the Duke of Holstein

T. m. Mem.

T. m. Mem.

Reason, adds Terlon; for this War would inevitably break, past all Reparation, that Union with Denmark, which it had been his true Interest to preserve; as on the other side, it was the Interest of the Danish King to keep a good Correspondence with the Duke of Holstein. Certain it is, that in this War, where he was only made use of, as a Tool and a Pretence, his Country was likely to suffer more in one Campaign, than could be repair'd in several Years after the Peace was made. Besides, that the Danes Answer to this, that the Neighbourhood of the Danish Troops would soon have delivered the Duke of that Fear, at a time, when the Swedish Army was not in a Condition to make head against them, they alledge several undeniable Instances of the manifest Breach of this pretended Neutrality, some of which we shall have occasion to speak of anon.

*Peace of
Roshilt.*

It would be both too tedious, and beyond our present Purpose to enter upon the Particulars of this War, the only Matter of Moment, worth our taking Notice of, being, that it ended with the Peace of *Roshilt*, in which these following Articles were inserted in favour of the Duke of *Holstein*, viz.

That all past Things should be buried in Oblivion.

That Satisfaction should be given to the Duke concerning his Pretensions, according as should be judged equitable, and that within a certain limited time. Pursuant to this Agreement, the Duke sent his Commissioners to *Copenhagen*, who in their Master's Name made these following Demands:

1. That the Duke should be discharged from his Vassalage:
2. That the King should surrender to him the Balliage (they call it *Ampt*) of *Swabstede*, and some other Possessions;
3. That

3. That he should put into the Duke's hand the strong Fortrefs of *Rensburgh* (being the only Bulwark of *Denmark* on that Side.)

4. That the Joint Administration of the Regency in both Dukedoms should be abolish'd:

5. That the *K.* of *Denmark* should pay all the Damages the Duke had sustained in the War; and give sufficient Caution for the future:

6. That he should pay several hundred thousand Crowns besides, on the account of some old Pretensions; besides several other Demands of the same Nature.

The *Danes*, who look'd upon these Conditions as too exorbitant, refusing to hearken to those Propositions; the *K.* of *Sweden*; whose Interest it was, by encouraging the Duke in his Demands, to link him the more firm to his Party, and render the Breach betwixt *Denmark* and *Holstein* irreparable, did refuse to withdraw his Troops out of the Territories of the *K.* of *Denmark*, before the Duke had receiv'd Satisfaction; Nay, the Duke's Commissioners did not stick to tell the *Danish* Ministers in plain Terms, that they had Orders in their Pockets, directed to the *Swedish* Generals, to re-commence the War, if they refused any longer to comply with those Conditions; so, that the *Danes*, to rid their hands from such unwelcome Guests, saw themselves under an absolute Necessity of granting to the Duke of *Holstein* the desired Sovereignty (without prejudice, however, to the antient Union) the Balliage of *Swabstede*, and the Revenues of the Chapter of *Sleswick*; besides some other Matters of less Consequence.

The Sovereignty granted the Duke of Holstein.

It

Second War
between Den-
mark and
Sweden.

It is known to all the World, that notwithstanding all those Concessions on the *Danish* Side, the *King of Sweden* found means to renew the War in the same Year, at a time, when *K. Frederick III.* thought himself secure from all danger, by the late concluded Peace, which he had bought so dearly from the *Swedes*, with the Loss of no less than all his Provinces, situate on the other side of the Passage of the *Sound*. And it was at this juncture, that *Duke Frederick of Holstein* gave new Matters of Complaint to the *Danes*, in acting contrary to that Neutrality he had before made the Foundation-stone of his late Transactions; there are, besides others, two remarkable Instances given of it, which, as they are Notorious beyond Contradiction in those Parts, so, by reason of several remarkable Circumstances, which attended the first, deserve a place in these Memoirs.

It is therefore to be observed, that after *King Charles Gustave* had taken a Resolution to finish the Conquest of *Denmark* by the taking of the City of *Copenhagen*, he feared, not without reason, that the Allies of *Denmark* might March to its Relief, before he could be Master of a Place, which in all likelihood would defend its self to the last Extremity; As he had taken all the imaginable Precautions to prevent the coming of any Succours by Sea, by sending a good Fleet into the *Sound*, and Barricading that Passage with strong Chains, so the only Means to secure himself against any Attempts of the *Danish* Allies by Land, was to make himself Master of the strong Fortress of *Rensburgh*, situate upon the River *Eyder*, on the
Confines

Confines of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*, but to compass it, was a Point not as much as to be aim'd at by the *Swedes*, at a time, when they had not a sufficient Force thereabouts to Besiege it in form, and if they had had, they would have met with a Brave Resistance from a Faithful and Valiant Governour and Garrison.

The only Way then left them being to try their Fortune by another Way, the Duke of *Holstein* was prevail'd upon to send some of his Ministers thither to endeavour to perswade them by a voluntary Surrender.

Accordingly several Persons being deputed by the Duke, and amongst them the Father of the Governour of the Place (being then in the Duke's Service) they desired a Conference with the Governour and Magistrates of the City, without mentioning the least what Errand they came about; so being admitted into the City, they in a very pathetick Harangue, represented unto them the dangerous Condition the Kingdom of *Denmark* was in at that time; which having moved the Duke to take Compassion of them, had sent his Deputation to exhort them to prevent their impending Ruine by a timely Surrender to him, which if done, he would provide for their Security, by putting a sufficient Garrison in the place, not questioning, but that he would obtain a Neutrality for them from his Son-in-Law, the King of *Sweden*. The Magistrates thank'd the Duke for his Care; but withal, told the Deputies, that, pursuant to the Allegiance due from them as good Subjects to His *Danish* Majesty, they were oblig'd and resolv'd to defend the Place to the utmost Extremity: but the Governour being a Gentleman of that

E

Coun-

Country, and a Person of Great Honour and Bravery, looking steadfastly all the while upon his Father, who at that time acted the Part of an Orator, told him, not without a great deal of Passion: *Dear Father, I could scarce have been perswaded to believe that I should ever hear such a Proposition come from your Mouth, to me; Believe me, you may at this time be glad, you are my Father; for, without that, I should never have had Patience enough, to have heard you so long, but would have sent you away immediately to the Dungeon, to make you sensible what Punishment such an Insolence as this, deserves.* The Father, whether moved by his Son's Generosity, or his own Inclination, is uncertain; but he gave him this immediate Reply: *My Son, What I have said hitherto, I have done, as being a Servant of the Duke; but what I am going to tell thee now, Take from me as thy Father, That if thou shouldst shew the least Inclination to surrender this Fortrefs, I would be the first that should call thee to thy face, a Traytor to thy Prince, and unworthy to be call'd my Son.* So that by the faithfulness of the Magistrates, and the Governour's Bravery, this Commission came to nothing.

Partiality
of the Duke
of Holstein.

Another Instance of the Duke's Partiality, and his secret Correspondency with Sweden, whilst Denmark was struggling for its Preservation, is alledg'd by the Danes, in the following manner: It seems there was about that time a Swedish Regiment entred the Country of *Eyderstede*, in which lies the Fortrefs of *Touningen*, belonging to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*; some of the Danish Auxiliaries having got Notice of it, directed their March thither with a sufficient Body, to beat up their Quarters; but the Swedes

not

not thinking themselves strong enough to stand the Brunt, retreated under the Cannon of *Tonnungen*. Here they lay sheltered for some time, till the Allies being reinforced with fresh Troops, were preparing to attack them there; upon which, the Garrison of the Fortress receiv'd them within their Gates.

The *Danes* exclaimed against this Action, as a manifest Breach of the Neutrality, but were forced to rest satisfied with this framed Excuse, That the Duke had bought the said Regiment from the King of Sweden; the contrary of which appear'd not long after, from a Letter of the Duke's own hand, written to his Secretary *Pauli*, then residing with the King of Sweden, dated at *Tonnungen*, the 12th of February, 1660, in which he ordered him exprelly to represent to the Swedish King: That he was put to a great Nonplus how to keep the said Regiment any longer where it was; and that he would be glad to know how he should dispose of it so, as it might tend most to His Majesty's Advantage: That he intended to have sent it by Sea into the Dukedom of Bremen, but that in so doing he must make a manifest Breach of the Neutrality; That therefore he desired the King's Leave to disband them; but, that notwithstanding all this, he might rest assured, that he would keep them in the Swedish Service to the last Extremity. It is to be observ'd, that just before this Letter was intercepted, Duke *Frederick* of *Holstein Gottorp* happen'd to die, whilst his Son *Christian Albert*, who succeeded him, was in Person in the Swedish Camp before *Copenhagen*; He had not before been a Spectator together with the King of Sweden, of the Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch and Swedish Fleets, from the Windows of

is intercepted by an officer of the Swedish Army.

the Castle of *Cronenburgh*, the first of which, being sent to the Relief of *Copenhagen*, fought their Way thro' the *Swedish* Fleet, Forts and Chains, with such Bravery as startled their Enemies, who from that time on, lost their hopes of the Conquest of *Denmark*; whereupon the young Duke took Shipping immediately after, to *Tonningen*, to take Possession of the Regency of the Dukedoms.

Peace of Co-
penhagen.

To be short, after the raising of the Siege of *Copenhagen*, the defeat of the *Swedes* in the Isle of *Fuhnen*, and the Death of their Brave King, a Peace was again concluded in the Year 1660, betwixt the two Northern Crowns, by vertue of which, the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* was confirm'd in his Sovereignty, but with this express Reserve: *That the antient Unions, Joynt-Administration of the Government, the former Covenants betwixt those two Families; and in General, all the antient Customs relating to those Dukedoms, should remain in full force, and to be inviolable.*

CHAP. IV.

What occasioned the Rupture betwixt the late King of Denmark, Christian V. and Christian Albert, the late Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

KING Frederick III. had some Reason to believe, that the young Duke of *Holstein*, having got every thing he desired, would now rest satisfied with his new Acquisitions, and cultivate a good Understanding with *Denmark* for the future, but this had a quite contrary Effect; For, the Duke thinking it not for his Interest to confide in those, whom he had oblig'd so lately, took other measures; and in the beginning of the Year 1661, not long after the Peace of *Copenhagen*, entred into a new and a more strict Alliance with *Sweden*.

Denmark taking the Alarm at this Proceeding, it was represented by the Duke's Ministers, as a defensive Alliance, made for no other Purpose but to secure their new Acquisitions against any Attempts that might be made upon them from *Denmark*, there being one express Article inserted, That the same should not be prejudicial to the Friendship betwixt those two Families. But tho' it was true, that the said Alliance was penn'd in defensive Terms, yet were the two Articles inserted, which would admit of no other Interpretation, than to have been contri-

*Alliance be-
twixt Swe-
den and Hol-
stein.*

ved to the great Prejudice of *Denmark*.

The first was: That in case the King of *Denmark*, should, beyond all expectation, recede from the last Northern Peace, and came to the worst of the War, which he should draw upon him by so doing; That in such a Case, the Duke did reserve to himself all his Right and Title to the Royal Part of those Dukedoms, both for himself and his Posterity.

The second is, That the Duke does expressly agree with his Majesty of *Sweden*, That, if in Case of a Rupture betwixt the two Northern Crowns, that Part of the Dukedoms belonging to *Denmark*, shall oblige its self to stand Neutral, so, as that not the least Injury or Danger may from thence accrue to the *Suedes*, the said King obliges himself not to attack or molest them.

Both these Points could not but stick very close in the King of *Denmark's* Stomach; for to pretend to secure the Succession of the Dukedoms, when there were at least twenty Princes of the Royal Branch alive, who had an unquestionable Precedency before the Branch of *Holstein Gottorp*, could not but be considered as very foreign to a defensive Alliance; The second tending to no less than to abalienate the King of *Denmark's* Subjects from the Allegiance due to their Sovereigns, without his Approbation, as it had a near Relation to the first, so the *Danes* could take it for no less than a strong Presumption to shew how eager the Duke was of getting into the entire Possession of those Dukedoms; but the Remembrance of their late Calamities, and their unsettled State at home, occasioned by that Great Revolution, obliged them

them to pass by those things till a better Opportunity.

The Duke on the other hand, being flush'd by this new Alliance, and by the weakness of *Denmark*, took this Juncture as the most proper to promote his Interest; and being put to a great Nonplus, how to maintain those Forces that were to be kept on foot for their Mutual Defence, pursuant to this Alliance (his ordinary Revenues being insufficient) it was proposed to *Denmark*, that those Taxes, which used to be levied for the common defence of the Country, and were kept in one common Treasury (to prevent the lifting of Soldiers without the Consent of both Parties) should not be put in the common Rank, but that each party might have Power to collect and keep his own Share.

The Duke's
increased
revenue upon
Denmark.

The *Danes* were not so insensible as not to perceive the Duke's Intention, but as they were not in a Condition to break with *Sweden* at that time, so, after many Contestations, they saw themselves under a Necessity to comply with the Duke's desire in the Year 1663. under this Limitation however, that it should be only for a certain time, and not be made use of hereafter in prejudice of either side; for which reason also the said Treasury was not shut up, but the Taxes raised upon the Noble Men's Estates were to be paid in there, as before.

The Duke got a remarkable Advantage by this Concession, being now at liberty to pay his own Troops, who were to swear Fealty to him alone; besides, that the *Danes* being to provide most of the Garrison'd Places (which belong'd to their Share) the Taxes were not sufficient to answer the Charges they were of Necessity to be at.

The King of *Denmark* having in the mean while, in some measure, re-settled his Affairs at home, began to make pressing Instances to the Duke, to settle the Gathering and Management of the extraordinary Taxes upon the antient Foundation; but he being unwilling to part with it, new Pretensions were made, founded upon the Patent of King *Christian I.* who first divided *Sleswick* betwixt his Sons, *John* and *Frederick*; in which it is express'd, *That the extraordinary Tax, (call'd the Land Bede) should be divided equally amongst them.* But this Argument could stand them in little stead, considering that the whole Dukedom was re-united with the Crown under King *Frederick I.* whose Sons (from whom both the Branches of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp* are descended) made a new Division and Union, in which there is not the least of it mentioned. Whilst these Contests lasted, the *English* and *Dutch* were engag'd in a War in the Year 1665, when King *Frederick III.* in remembrance of what he owed to the *Dutch* for their seasonable Relief at the time of the late Siege of *Copenhagen*, gave shelter to the *Dutch East-India Ships* in the Port of *Bergen* in *Norway*, against the Earl of *Sandwich*, the then *English* Admiral; who being vehemently exasperated against him, and endeavouring to persuade the *Swedes* to break with *Denmark*, he did not think it seasonable to push this Point of the Community of Taxes to the utmost, but rather to link the said Duke to his Interest by a Marriage with his Daughter *Frederica Amalia*, which was consummated in the Year 1667, immediately after the Peace was concluded betwixt *England* and *Holland*.

Marriage
of the Duke
of Holstein
Gottorp.

But it seems the Ties of Marriage were not strong enough to draw him from the *Swedish* Interest; for, in the Year 1669, there being a Meeting appointed at *Hamborough* betwixt the Deputies of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, in order to compose the Differences arisen betwixt the King and Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, on one, and the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, on the other side, about the Succession in the Countries of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*; the Deputies of *Gottorp* shew'd so much Haughtiness in their deportment, that the first Commissioner of the Duke disputed the Precedency with the second Commissioner of *Denmark*, and shew'd their Orders for so doing; and tho' the Imperial Commissioner, who assisted at those Conferences, employed all his Care and Authority to terminate those Differences in an Amicable manner, yet the Ministers of *Gottorp* were so far from hearkning to those Propositions, that they at several times threatned both the Emperour and the Empire with the *Swedes*; so that this Negotiation broke off fruitless.

CHAP. V.

An Account of the Rupture betwixt Christian V. King of Denmark, and Christian Albert, Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

IN the mean while King *Frederick III.* happening to die, his eldest Son and Successor, *Christian V.* being willing at his first Accession to the Throne, to keep a good Correspondence with the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, left no stone unturn'd to compose the beforementioned Differences, with the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, concerning the Succession of *Oldenburgh*. For which purpose, he renew'd the Conferences (after he had refused the Offers of the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, who would have made a separate Agreement with him) representing to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp's* Ministers, how dangerous and inconsistent it was with their common Interest to exasperate the Imperial Court, who took part with the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*; but those were so puffed up with the *Swedish* Alliance, and with the Assistance they expected from thence, that, when it was urg'd on the *Danish* side, that some Regard ought to be had to the Imperial Authority, whose unquestionable Right it was to determine those Differences, the said Countries being Fiefs of the Empire; the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp* did not stick to tell them in plain Terms: *The best Remedy against the Emperor's Authority, is the Sword.* The

The King of Denmark then being convinced that the Duke had no inclination to satisfy the just Demands of the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, and fearing, not without great reason, that those differences might one time or other Embroil him with the Emperour, resolved to put an end to them by an Amicable Composition. For which reason, after having made his remonstrations to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* in Person, whilst he was at *Copenhagen* in the Year 1671, and afterwards to his Ministers, that in Case they stood it out any longer, he should be obliged to take his own Measures, he effectually brought the Matter to a happy Issue on his side, to the Entire Satisfaction of the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*.

*Differences
betwixt Den-
mark and
Holstein
Ploen, com-
posed.*

Things continued thus without any remarkable Alterations till the Year 1672. when the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* got himself to be included in the Alliance made betwixt *England, France* and *Sweden*; whereupon he not only Augmented his Forces, but also procured an order from the Crown of *Sweden*, directed to their Generals in *Germany*, that upon the first Summons from the Duke, they should with all the Forces they could bring together, March and Act according to the Duke's direction.

But this was not all; for, in the Year 1674. he renewed the Alliance made with *Sweden* in the Year 1661. and went in Person to *Stockholm*, being accompanied Chiefly by those of his Ministers, who were sufficiently known to be against the Interest of *Denmark*, the Effects of which appear'd soon after; For, the Duke of *Holstein Ploen* having obtained a definitive Sentence in the Imperial Court against the said Duke of *Gottorp*, he had Engaged the *Swedish* Court.

*The Duke
of Holstein
Gottorp re-
news his Al-
liance with
Sweden.*

Court in his Quarrel, who sent their Letters to the Government of those Countries, to oppose the Execution of the Emperours Judgment against the Duke; all which being done at a time, when the *Suedes* were in open Alliance with the Enemies of the Emperour and Empire, gave the King of *Denmark* sufficient reason to guess what good he might expect from him, in Case he should assist the Emperour, as he was obliged to do, both as a Member of the Empire, and as an Aliy.

The *Suedes*
 Irruption into
 Brandenburg.

It was not long after that the *Suedes* made an irruption into the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Territories; This Prince was Marched with his whole Force to the *Rhine*, to make Head against the *French*, and kept the strong Fortress of *Brisac*, so closely block't up, that in all likelihood it could not have held out till the end of the Campaign; The *French*, who knew the Importance of this Place, to Preserve at once this Fortress, and rid themselves of so formidable an Enemy upon the *Rhine*, urged the *Suedes*; but especially some of the Grandees of the Kingdom, who had the Chief Management of Affairs during the Minority of their King *Charles XI.* to make the Crown of *France* some Amends for the huge Subsidies they had received by virtue of the Alliance made betwixt them; Whereupon the *Suedes* entred the *Brandenburgh* Territories with a Considerable Army, not questioning but by so powerful a Diversion, he would be obliged to leave his Prey upon the *Rhine*, to look after his Affairs nearer Home.

The Allies in the mean while were continually Soliciting the King of *Denmark* to Succour the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who suffered
 for

for the common Cause, and the Kings Inclination were altogether suitable to their desires, but being Sensible that if he made the least Motion he must leave his Country exposed to the Mercy of an Enemy, who had his strong Holds in the Heart of his Country; some of the Allies did urge the King to begin with the Duke, and to endeavour to rid his Hands of a Domestick Enemy.

But the King, who was unwilling to come to those Extremities, took a Journey to *Rensburgh* (near which he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Troops) with an Intention to try, whether by an Interview with the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, a sincere Amity might not be restored among them; The Duke Arriving at *Rensburgh*, the 25th of *June*, in the Year 1675, was receiv'd with the discharge of all the Cannon from the Ramparts of this strong Fortress, and all other demonstrations of Joy, usual upon such Occasions. The next day being the 26th of *June*, an Express arriv'd with the News of the defeat of the *Swedes* near *Fehr-Berlin*, when the King, laying hold of this Opportunity, represented to the Duke, that he being oblig'd to march with all his Forces against the Enemies of the Empire, he could not blame him, if, considering what Intelligence he had concerning the Duke's near Engagements with *Sweden*, he desired him to give him such Security, as might free him from all the suspicion of danger; and that for the rest, he would be ready to contribute all what in him lay towards the Composing the remaining Differences betwixt them. The Duke having desired some time to Consider of the Matter, the Gates of *Rensburgh* were kept shut up,

The Interview betwixt the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein.

Tonningen
Surrendered
to the Danes.

up, for fear the Duke should dispatch his Messengers to his Governours and the Swedish Generals, to prevent the Design of the Danes, which was to make themselves Masters of his Strongholds by Force, in case he should persist in his Refusal to surrender them into the King's hands till the Conclusion of a Peace; which the Duke, after a deliberation of eight and forty Hours, agreed to, and sent his Order to the Commander in Chief of *Tonningen*, to surrender the said Fortress into His Majesty's hands, which was done accordingly.

The account
of Denmark
1692.

What the
Danes alledge
on their side.

This Action was exclaimed against by those who were no Friends to the Crown of *Denmark*, as a Breach of the Royal Word, a Violation of the Laws of Hospitality, and an Act, which being forced from the Duke, could not be obligatory on his side. Some have added several other Circumstances of his being confined a Prisoner to his Appartment; of his being ill used, and put in fear of his Life; and several other Circumstances relating to the Treaty, concluded afterwards betwixt the King and Duke: To this the *Danes* answer, That the King's Intention was not in the least to put any force upon the Duke at his coming to *Rensburgh*, but that much about the same time, they receiv'd the News of the Defeat of the *Swedes*; Letters were sent to His *Danish* Majesty from one of the Allied Princes, in which was enclosed the Copy of an Order, sent expressly before their Defeat near *Fehr Berlin*, to the Swedish General *Wrangel*, containing in Substance, That at the Solicitation of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, they had thought fit for him to march with a good Body of Troops forthwith into

into *Holstein*, in order to prevent the King of *Denmark* to join with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; unto which was added, that there was a shrewd Suspicion of the City of *Hamborough*'s being included in the Alliance betwixt *Sweden* and the Duke; the Truth of the first Assertion appears from the Apology of the Count *de la Garde*, the Lord High Chancellor of *Sweden*; and, as to what relates to the City of *Hamborough*; I remember very well, that being at that time in those Parts, there were some Letters, said to have been found among the Papers of the Baron *Kielman*, Chief Minister of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, and residing for a considerable time before the said City, intimating, that a Promise of such an Alliance had been made by the *Sieur Garmers*, one of the *Syndies* of *Hamborough*; upon which application being made to the Senate from His *Danish* Majesty, they gave for Answer, that no such thing had been done by their Orders or Consent, which made *Garmers* to retire immediately out of the Territories of this Commonwealth, for fear, as it was supposed, of being called to an Account for so unaccountable an Undertaking.

These were the Motives, say the *Danes*, which obliged their King to secure the Possession of the Duke's Strongholds to himself, at a Juncture, when there was no small Prospect of Repairing the Losses they had sustain'd in the late War with *Sweden*; but they constantly deny, that the Duke was under any Confinement, the Gates of *Rensburgh* having been kept shut up, with no other Intention, than to take away from the Duke the opportunity of preventing His Majesty's

jeſty's deſigns, by ſending his Meſſengers to their Enemies, till his final Reſolution were known. They poſitively Aver, and appeal to the Teſtimonies of many then preſent, That the King offered to ſee the differences concerning the Countries of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorſt*, compoſed, to his Honour; and that the other Matters, eſpecially concerning the Taxes, ſhould be tranſacted by their both ſides Miniſters, provided the Duke would ſecure to him the Poſſeſſion of his Fortreſſes till the end of the War; and that the King told the Duke in expreſs Terms, that he ſhould have Liberty to go where and when he pleas'd, if he was reſolved not to comply with his deſire; but, that in ſuch a Caſe, he muſt not blame him, if he ſent his Troops immediately into his Territories, and took ſuch other Meaſures as he ſhould find moſt conducing to his Safety, at this juncture, when he was ready to aſſiſt his Allies againſt the common Enemy: So that his Compliance may rather be aſcribed to the Conſideration of his Intereſt at this time than any other Cauſe. The King invited him at the ſame time to dine with him, and to go abroad with him after Dinner, which the Duke reſuſed to accept of, being extremely Melancholy; which was Chieſly attributed to the ill News they had lately received of the Overthrow of the *Suedes*. Within two days after, the King and his only Brother, Prince *George*, gave him a Viſit, proteſting that what had paſt, was done with no other Intention than for their Joint-Security's ſake, and that he was ſo far from deſiring his Ruine, that he ſhould be ready for the future to do him all the good Offices he was capable of. The Duke with a great deal

deal of seeming satisfaction return'd him Thanks, calling God to witness, that he was very glad it was in his Power to oblige his Majesty; and that for the future he would adhere inviolably to his Interest; they din'd the same day together, and the next Morning the Duke left *Rensburgh* under the discharge of the Cannon, and return'd to his Residence at *Gottorp*. *The Duke's
Departure
from
Rensburgh.*

After his departure the Ministers of *Gottorp*, who were left behind by particular Order from their Master, to regulate the remaining Differences, had frequent Meetings with those of *Denmark*, who, in one of their first Conferences, protested in the King's Name, that they were not met there to constrain the Duke to any thing that was against his Will; unto which the Ministers of *Gottorp* reply'd, that they did take it so, and, that what they did, was done without Compulsion.

Thus, after many Conferences, a Treaty was concluded betwixt the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, on the 10th day of *July*, 1675. In which, besides some other Matters of less moment, the Duke resign'd the Sovereignty he had obtained by the Peace of *Rosbilit*; so, that all things were thereby settled upon the antient Foundation of the Union prescribed by their Ancestors. The Duke having afterwards re-call'd his Ministers from *Rensburgh*, after mature deliberation, not only ratified the said Treaty, but also sent back to the King the Patent granted him by King *Frederick III.* by which he was declared independent from the Crown of *Denmark*; he likewise writ a form of Resignation with his own hand, by which he renounced all the Advantages he had obtained *Treaty of
Rensburgh.*

F

*The Duke's
Ratification
and Resignation
of the same
by*

by the Northern Peace, and engag'd the Bishop of *Lubeck*, his Brother, to do the same.

As an overplus, he sent some time after the King was return'd to *Copenhagen*, a Letter written with his own hand, in which he testified his great Satisfaction in being reconciled to his Majesty, by which means he hoped the antient good Correspondence and mutual Confidence betwixt their Families would be restor'd; to effect which, he would be ready to contribute whatever should be in his Power to do.

If all this, say the *Danes*, is not sufficient to contradict what is alledg'd by some, concerning the Hardship put upon the Duke at the Treaty of *Rensburgh*, why may not the Peace of *Roshilt* with the same Right be look'd upon as a Transaction, wherein Force had the greatest share, to wit: when King *Frederick III.* being enclosed within his Capital City, by the Encouragement at least, if not Assistance of Duke *Frederick* of *Holstein Gottorp*, was put to an absolute Necessity of either losing all, or of redeeming some part of his Kingdoms, with the Sovereignty granted to that Duke.

CHAP. VI.

The ensuing War betwixt Charles XI. King of Sweden, and Christian V. King of Denmark and his Allies.

WHilst these things were transacting in *Holstein*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, having soon receiv'd Intelligence of the Irruption of the *Suedes*, who carried all before them in a Country destitute of Defence, saw himself under an absolute Necessity of leaving his Enterprize upon *Brisac*, in order to dislodge the *Suedes*. These indeed pretended they did not enter the Territories of *Brandenburgh* with an Intention to commit any Acts of Hostility, but only to oblige the Elector to withdraw his Army from the *Rhine*, and to accept of a Neutrality; but the Elector, who did not take these Compliments, upon the first Notice, ordered all his Cavalry and Dragoons to march towards their Native Country, being strengthened in his March thro' some of the more remote Parts of his Territories, with some Foot, whom he ordered to be carried upon Waggon, for the more Swiftness sake.

Thus with long and swift Marches he Arriv'd at a Pass called *Ratenau*, Fortified and Possess'd by the *Suedes*, who not dreaming of the Elector's being so near them were very careless in keeping their out-Guards: The Elector find-

The Suedes enter Bratdenburgh.

Are surpris'd by the Brandenburghers.

ing this Opportunity suitable to his Purpose, ordered the Place to be attack'd with Sword in Hand, before break of Day, which being done accordingly, they made themselves Masters of it, before half the Garrison could take the Alarm, the Governour being made Prisoner before he had time to put on his Cloaths.

This done, the Elector ordered the Gates to be kept shut, so that no Body should pass in or out, (to prevent the Enemy from getting any Intelligence of what had pass'd) and having call'd together all the Head Officers of his Army, he told them that the only way to rid their Hands speedily of those Unwelcome Guests, would be to Attack them before they got Notice of their Arrival; that indeed, being only Horse, destitute of the Assistance of a sufficient Number of Foot, they would be obliged to Fight against a well regulated Army, not without a Considerable Disadvantage on their Side, but that he hoped their Courage would supply this Defect; that, if they were all of his Opinion, they ought rather to venture something, than to see their Estates wasted by a lingering War; There being not one Man there who did not shew a great deal of Chearfulness, and Compliance with what had been proposed by the Elector; he, who knew, that their Main Advantage consisted in Expedition, Marched with his whole Body towards the Enemy, who lay Encamped near a Place called *Fehr Berlin*, but in so careless a manner, that it might easily be perceived, they expected nothing less, than to be Engaged in a Battle that day, their General *Wrangel*, being at the same time, with many of the Head Officers and a good Body of the

the best Troops at a place called *Havelbergh*. The *Svedes* had scarce leisure to put themselves in order of Battel, when they were attack't with great Fury by the *Brandenburghers*, who being most Horse, broke in upon them both in Front and Flank, (the *Svedes* being so posted as not to second one another in due time,) and put them to an entire Rout, most of their Foot being Cut in Pieces; some are of Opinion, that if their General *Wrangel*, (who had made himself so Famous in the *German Wars*) had immediately after the Battel, joined the remainders of the Army with his Body, they might, notwithstanding this Defeat, have Maintain'd themselves in the Country of *Brandenburgh*; but instead of this, he Marched to *Wistuck*, and from thence to the Borders of *Pomerania*, leaving the rest to the Mercy of the Enemies Horse, who pursued them so briskly, that very few of them return'd to the *Swedish* Camp.

The *Svedes*
routed near
Fehr Berlin.

Not long after, the *Svedes* being declared Enemies of the Empire at the Diet at *Ratisbon*, and by the *Dutch*, King *Christian V.* having now his Hands at Liberty, to Act wherever he should think it most Convenient for his purpose, and considering with himself, that he could scarce have wished for a more favourable Opportunity to recover his lost Dominions, and to reduce the Power of the *Svedes*, into more narrow Bounds, than at this time, when the Flower of their Forces being lost in their last Defeat, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* would not be wanting to lay hold of this Opportunity, to rid his Hands of those Troublesome Neighbours, by Chasing them out of *Pomerania*; Besides, that the most Potent House of *Lune-*
burgh

Reasons
which indu-
ced the King
of Denmark
to break with
Sweden.

burgh, in Conjunction with the Bishop of *Munster*, were making great preparations, to Invade the Dukedoms of *Bremen* and *Verden*, Provinces under the *Swedish* Jurisdiction in *Germany*, which by reason of their near Neighbourhood to the *Danish* Territories (being situate all along the River *Elbe*) have ever since been a great Eye Sore to the *Danes*. They had besides this all the reason in the World to believe that the *Czar* of *Muscovy* would make use of this juncture to make a most powerful Irruption into *Livonia*, which would infallibly have been put in Execution, if by the sudden Death of the said *Czar* (His Present *Czarish* Majesty's Father) the *Swedes* had not been delivered from that Fear or rather impending Ruine.

Sends some
of his Troops
to the Assist-
ance of the
Elect of
Branden-
burgh.

These reasons, I say, were so prevailing with King *Christian V.* that at last he gave Ear to the Solicitations of the Allies, and sent a good Body of Troops the same Summer to the Assistance of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburgh*, who were very Instrumental in furthering the Irruption, which the *Brandenburghers* made into *Pomerania*, in spite of the Brave Resistance of the *Swedes*, who defended their passes to the last Extremity, under the Command of *Otto William* Earl of *Koningsmark*, who died afterwards in the *Morica*, as General of the *Venetian* Forces. After the *Brandenburghers* had got a firm footing in *Pomerania*, King *Christian V.* set down before the City of *Wismar*, with his whole Army, in the Month of *October*. This place being situate on the *Baltick*, is very considerable to the *Swedes*, both for its strength and Situation, this being the only place by which they can keep a Communication by Sea,

Refuges
Wismar.

with

with the Dukedom of *Bremen*; and is consequently always provided with a good Garrison, notwithstanding which, and the disadvantage of the Season, the Place was Surrendered to the *Danes*, after a Siege of Six Weeks, the *Swedish* Fleet being not able to come time enough to its Relief.

Is surrendered to the Danes.

The Dukedom of *Bremen* and *Verden* being now destitute of all Relief, unless by the way of the *Elbe*, which might easily be prevented by erecting some Forts; and placing a few Frigots in a convenient Station, the *Luneburghers* made themselves Masters of those Countries without bloodshed, there being no body there to oppose their Passage, except what was in the City of *Stade*, which being provided with a good Garrison, but without hopes of being Relieved, they reduced by Famine.

The House of Luneburgh attacks the Swedes.

After the taking of *Wismar* King *Christian V.* bent all his thoughts to Attack the *Swedes* with the utmost Vigour in *Skonen*, situate on the Continent, on the other side of the Passage of the *Sound*; but this Enterprize being not likely to meet with Success, till the *Swedes* were beaten at Sea, he continued his Naval Preparations with the utmost Diligence, and being re-inforced with a good Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, under the Command of the Brave *Van Tromp*, they Engaged the *Swedish* Fleet so vigorously, that they put them to Flight, with the Loss of several of their best Men of War, among which was the *Swedish* Ship called the *Crown*, at that time, supposed to be the biggest in *Europe*, carrying 120 Guns, and above a thousand Men; tho' it is to be observ'd that this Mischance was occasioned rather by a Neg-

The Swedes beaten at Sea by the Danes.

The Swedes
 & their
 Admiral.

lect, than the Enemy, being over-set as she was tacking about by the Guns, which were not well fastned. falling for the most part on one side. The Ship in which was their Admiral *Ogla* had likewise the Misfortune, to be burnt after it had Fought with incredible Bravery for several Hours, and being quite disabled, was just upon the Point of Surrendring to the *Danish* Admiral, when the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp* sent two Fire-ships, one of which set her on Fire; This was look't upon as an irreparable Loss to the *Swedes*; for of 1400 Men, that were in the Ship, (among whom were above 300 Volunteers, most Gentlemen of Quality) there escaped not one, the Flame being so furious, as to take away from the Enemy it self the Opportunity of saving either the Ship or Men.

The Danes
 Land on the
 Continent of
 Sweden.

The Hel-
 singburgh.

After the *Danes* had cleared thus the Sea of the *Swedes*, King *Christian V.* being re-inforced with 6000 *Munsterians*, Landed with an Army of about 26000 Men at *Isted* in *Shonen*, not far from *Helsingburgh*, which last place he took with little Resistance; the King of *Sweden*, who found himself not strong enough to oppose him, being retreated to a great distance, till he could be re-inforced with more Troops from *Sweden*, so as to be able to make head against the *Danes*, who being now Masters of the Field took one place after another; for after the taking of *Helsingburgh* they sat down before *Lands Crown*, which after a Brave Resistance was forced to Surrender. The City of *Christian-stadt* being built upon an Island in the midst of a Lake, the Garrison thought themselves so secure against any Attempt from the Enemy, that they ply'd their Cups more than their Guards, which over-secu-

The Lands
 Crown.

ring.

city, proved their Ruine; for it happening to be a very dry Season, and the *Danes* finding the Lake fordable in some places, passed the same, and before the Garrison could put themselves in a posture of Defence, carried the place by Assault, Cutting all to Pieces that opposed their Passage.

*And Christi-
anized by
A. J. J.*

The next year did not prove altogether so prosperous to the *Danes*, for the King having detach'd a Body of 4000 Men under the Com-
mand of Major General *Duncomb* to invest *Halm-
stadt*, the whole *Swedish* Army got betwixt them and their Main Body; so that being past all Retreating, they were forc'd to fight it out to the last, which they did with incredible Bravery, most of them being slain upon the Spot, and the rest made Prisoners of War.

*4000 Danes
wounded.*

The King of *Sweden* flush'd with this Success, and having received lately a considerable Re-inforcement out of *Sweden*, advanced with his Army into *Shonen* to observe the *Danes*, who were then employed in the Siege of *Malmoe*; The *Swedish* Army posted it self as near as they could with safety to the *Danes*, who were for preventing any Relief to be sent into the Place; in this Posture they continued for several Weeks, till what with the Coldness of the Season and the Fatigues and Losses of a long Siege, the *Danish* Army being considerably diminished, the King of *Sweden* attack'd them near *Lunden*. The Battle was very obstinate on both sides, the *Swedes* as well as the *Danes*, being animated by the Presence of their respective Kings, and lasted from Morning till Night. The *Danes* were superior in Horse to the *Swedes*, as these out-numbered the others in Foot, of whom

Battle be-
tween the
Danes and
Swedes.

whom they had lost the Bravest in the Siege of *Malmoe*. The King of *Sweden*, who commanded the right Wing of his Army, forced the *Danish* left Wing to retreat over the River, whilst the right Wing of the *Danes*, commanded by their King, made the left Wing of the *Swedes* shrink before them; so, that both Parties fighting with equal Obstinacy and Advantage, the Night put an end to the Slaughtering, which was very great, there having been found near ten thousand Men slain upon the Spot. In this Battle the King of *Denmark*, as well as his only Brother Prince *George*, who was his constant Companion, wherever he went, signaliz'd themselves to the Admiration of all the Army, exposing themselves frequently to the Enemies Shot, and leading on their Squadrons in Person, so that the *Danes* attributed the Glory of having shared the Honour of the Day with the Enemy, Chiefly to their Presence.

In the mean while the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, having made himself master of all the Places of less note in *Pomerania*, had besieged the City of *Stettin*, which defended it self beyond what can be express'd, disputing every Inch of ground with the *Brandenburghers*; In the mean while the *Swedes*, to try whether they could withdraw the Elector from that Siege by a powerful Diversion, made an Irruption into *Prussia*, by the way of *Courland*; but the Elector of *Brandenburgh* having well secured his Passes on that side, they were forced to return without doing any thing, having lost one half of their Army, by Cold, Famine, and several Engagements. In the mean while the Elector push'd on the Siege of *Stettin* with the utmost

Vigour, which being at least reduced to the utmost Extremity, was forced to surrender to the Elector; The City of *Strahlsund*, the only then remaining under the *Swedish* Jurisdiction in *Pomerania*, was forced to undergo the same Fate; for their Magazines being burnt by the Elector's Bombs, and being bereaved of all hopes of Relief, they made an honourable Capitulation. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* being now Master of all *Pomerania*, the remainder of the *Swedish* Forces were, according to Capitulation, to be Transported by Sea into *Sweden*; but run upon the Sands near *Bornholm*, where they were Shipwrack'd, and many of them drown'd, the rest being made Prisoners by the *Danes*; so that of an Army of 40000 Men (the *Swedish* Forces in *Germany* being accounted so strong, before the beginning of this War) there returned very few into *Sweden*. The Shipwracking of those Forces made a great Noise in those Parts, the *Swedes* laying the Fault of it upon the Commodore, and exclaiming against the *Danes* for detaining those who had escaped the danger of the Wars; The Elector of *Brandenburgh* by a Declaration cleared himself and his Commander of this Charge, which they imputed altogether to a Misfortune, it happening in a very dark Night; as the *Danes* did excuse the Action by a Defect in the Pass, which, as they say, entitled them to use those *Swedes* as Prisoners of War.

But we must return to the *Swedes* and *Danes* in *Shonen*. Both Sides having made all possible Preparations to appear as formidable as could be the next Campaign, the *Swedes* laid Siege to *Christianstadt*; The King of *Denmark* having appointed the Rendezvous of his Army near *Lands-*

Surrendered.

*Strahlsund
Surrendered.*

*The Swedish Forces
Shipwrack'd.*

Christianstadt.

Crown, marched (he himself being at the Head of them) towards the Enemy, with a Resolution to give them Battle; But finding the *Swedish* King advantageously posted on a rising Ground, he did not think fit to attack him, but besieged *Malmoe*.

The Siege of
Malmoe by
the Danes.

The place was provided with a strong Garrison, and all other things requisite for a vigorous Defence; notwithstanding which the King of *Denmark*, whose Genius was always for Action, resolv'd to carry on the Siege, which was done accordingly for five Weeks together; the Besieged, encouraged by the nearness of the *Swedish* Army, being resolved to defend themselves to the last Extremity; several large Breaches being made in the Body of the Place, the King of *Denmark* ordered a General Assault to be given, which was done accordingly, but with very ill Success; for tho' the *Danes* did enter the Breach inspite of all the opposition made by the Besieged, yet those being provided with a good Entrenchment behind the Breach, did so gall the *Danes* with their Fire-Arms, that it was impossible for them to make a Lodgment there; so that they were forced to retreat with the Loss of 4000 of their best Men.

The Danes
retreat
to Swedia.

After this mishap the King of *Denmark* raised the Siege, in order to March to *Lands Crown*, but was overtaken in his March, before he could reach that place, by the *Swedish* Army, who having lately receiv'd a Considerable reinforcement, Attack't the *Danes*, weakened by the last Siege of *Malmoe*, with such a Fury, that they were forced to retreat under the Cannon of *Lands Crown*; This being the second Battel Fought betwixt the two Northern Kings, within the Space of Twelve Months.

This

This Loss was over-ballanced by two Engagements at Sea, in which the *Danes* were Victorious over the *Swedes*. For, a Squadron of thirteen *Swedish* Ships coming from *Gothenburgh*, as they were passing thro' the *Belt*, in order to join the *Swedish* Fleet, were all taken by the *Danes* and brought up to *Copenhagen*, except one, which setting up *Danish* Colours, escaped thro' the *Sound*.

Not long after they had another smart Engagement with the whole *Swedish* Fleet, in which the last, after the loss of several of their best Ships, were forced to make the best of their way to their Ports.

*The Swedes
worsted twice
at Sea.*

In the mean while the King of *Sweden* kept *Christianstadt* closely block't up, being very difficult to be Attack't in form by reason of its situation in the midst of a Lake; The place being reduced to great Want, the *Danish* Army Marched to its Relief, but finding all the Posts and Avenues well Guarded by the *Swedes*, and being not strong enough to hazard a Battel, they returned without attempting any thing; so that the place being reduced to the utmost by Famine, was forced to surrender to the *Swedes*.

The Loss of this place was in some Measure made good by the taking of *Helsingburgh*, (which since the Battel of *Lunden* was regained by the *Swedes*) This was perform'd by a Stratagem, by sending a supposititious Letter to the Governour; who thereupon coming out of the place, the same was surprized by the *Danes*; but they had not the same good Luck before *Bahus*, which after they had Stormed in vain, they did raise the Siege at the Approach of the *Swedish* Forces, that were Marching to its Relief.

*Helsing-
burgh taken
by a Stratagem.*

Whilst

The Dutch
make a sepa-
rate Peace at
Nimeguen.

Whilst those things past in the North, the *Dutch* had made a great step towards the concluding a separate Peace with *France*, under very Advantageous Conditions on their side, which was actually signed on the tenth of *August* N. S. in the Year 1678, notwithstanding the solemn Protestations of the Ministers of the other Allies, and the great dislike of the Prince of *Orange*; the Ratifications of the said Treaty, being after some Contests, exchanged on the 17 of *September* following, being the day when the Peace betwixt *France* and the *Spaniards* (who had been included by the *Dutch* in the said Peace) was signed.

The Emperour not thinking it for his Advantage, to maintain alone the War against *France*, Concluded likewise a Peace with them on the 5 of *February*, 1679.

The *Danes* and *Brandenburghers* seeing themselves thus left by their Allies to the Mercy of a Potent Enemy, made most severe Protestations against the Proceedings of the Emperour but to no great purpose; the *French* King declaring by his Embassadours within three Weeks after, to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the *English* Mediator, that if *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* did not resolve before the end of *March*, to give full Satisfaction to the *Swedes*, he would be at Liberty to form new Pretensions, which time was however afterwards, prolong'd to the first day of *May*; But this Truce expired without answering the desired Effect, the *French* Ambassadours insisting upon their former Demands of restoring all to the *Swedes*, and would have it inserted as a preliminary Article, That the King of *Denmark* should immediately release these *Swedish* Forces

Forces we mentioned before, to have been Shipwrack'd near *Bornholm*; which being refused, they seconded their Demands with a good Body of Troops under Lieut. General *Calvo*, who passing the *Rhine*, forced the *Brandenburgh* General *Spaen*, to retreat towards the River *Weser*; where a sharp Engagement happened near *Minden*, with the Loss of a good Number of Men on both sides. But whilst the *French* were preparing to attack *Minden*, a Messenger arriv'd with the welcome News that the Peace betwixt the *French* and *Swedish* Kings and His Electoral Highness was Signed at *St. Germain*, on the 19 of *June*, 1679, according to which the Elector was to restore to the *Swedes* all he had taken from them in *Pomerania*, during this last War, except the Lands on the other side of the River *Oder* and the City of *Golnow*; That the *Swedes* were to quit the Toll they used to receive at *Colberg*, and some other Places in *Pomerania*, and the *French* King to pay to the Elector the Summ of 300000 Crowns towards reimbursing, in some measure, the vast Charge he had been at in making those Conquests.

Peace with
the Elector of
Branden-
burgh.

This being all the Satisfaction this Gallant Prince was able to obtain, the *Danes* had but little Reason to promise themselves any better Terms, especially since the House of *Luneburgh* having likewise made a separate Peace with *France*, they were now left destitute of all Aid from their Allies. King *Christian V.* seeing himself thus reduced to an absolute necessity of concluding a sudden Peace, *Lunden* in *Shonen* was appointed for the Commissioners of both the Northern Crowns to meet, and to endeavour to effect an Accommodation betwixt their
respe-

With Den-
mark.

respective Masters, and Mr. *Meyerkrøn* was sent into *France*, to Negotiate the Peace there. But what most of all hastned the Conclusion of it, was a good Body of Horse, sent by the *French* King, under the Command of the *Marquess de Joyeuse*, into the Countries of *Oldenburgh* and *Delmenhorst*, who exacted great Contributions, so that the *Danes* being not in a Condition to resist so powerful an Invasion, a Peace was concluded betwixt *France*, *Sweden* and *Denmark* on the 2^d of *September* 1679, at *Fontaine Bleau*, under these following Articles:

Articles
of the Peace
of Fontaine
Bleau.

I. That there shall be a firm Peace between the said Kings, and every thing done during the War, to the Offence of either, to be buried in Oblivion.

II. That all Alliances made by either of the three Kings, to the prejudice of the other, shall cease and be abolished, and they shall not make any, which may be so for the future.

III. That Hostilities do cease, within a fortnight, reckoning from the day of the Signing, except in *Normay*, where three Weeks shall be allowed, by reason of its distance.

IV. That the Treaties of *Roshilt*, *Copenhagen* and *Westphalia* shall be confirmed, with all the Instruments to them appertaining.

V. The King of *Denmark* promises to restore whatever he has taken from *Sweden* during this War, viz. *Landscroon*, *Helsingburgh*, *Musstrand* and *Wismar*, as also the Isles of *Rugen* and *Gothland*, with all their dependencies.

VI. In like manner the King of *Sweden* promises to restore what he has taken from the *Danes* during this War.

VII. That

VII. That Commissioners shall be appointed by the two Northern Crowns, who shall meet within six Months (a Minister from the most Christian King being present) and shall endeavour to compose all Differences arisen on occasion of Priviledges and Immunities, which the *Swedes* pretend to in the *Sound* and in the *Baltick*; provided that the said Priviledges and Immunities do remain in full force and vigour, the Abuses only to be corrected.

VIII. The Places to be restored to *Sweden* shall be delivered up in the same Condition as they are at present, viz. *Helsingburgh*, *Lands-crown*, and all other Places possess'd by the King of *Denmark* in *Shonen*, *Halland* and *Bleckingen*, together with *Carelsstadt*, and the Fort on the River *Swinge* within two Weeks, *Wismar* and the Isle of *Rugen* within three, *Marstrand* and the Isle of *Gothland* within four Weeks, to be reckoned from the Day of the Exchange.

IX. The King of *Denmark* may take out of the Places to be restored, what Cannon he caused to be brought into them, since they were in his Possession; but the Cannon that were in those Places, when taken and still remain there, to be restor'd with the Places. But if the King of *Denmark* hath formerly taken out of those Places, the Cannon that belonged to the *Swedes*, he shall restore the one Half thereof.

X. All Goods and Estates confiscated during the War, shall be restored.

XI. All Persons shall be restored to the Rights and Priviledges they enjoyed before the War.

XII. The Country of *Rixengen*, belonging to the Count *Ablefelt*, confiscated during the War, shall be restored to him.

XIII. All Prisoners shall be released.

G

XIV. All

XIV. All such Princes as shall desire it, shall be comprehended in this Treaty.

XV. The most Christian King promises, that the King of Sweden shall ratify this Treaty within three Months.

XVI. The most Christian King promises to ratify the same within six Weeks.

XVII. The Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* having earnestly desired his most Christian Majesty to endeavour his Restitution, pursuant to the Treaties of *Rosbilit*, *Copenhagen* and *Westphalia*, and having assured us that he wished for nothing more, than to be Reconciled with his *Danish* Majesty; The said King of *Denmark*, to shew his desire to put an End to the War, and all the Differences in hand, does, at the Desire of his most Christian Majesty agree, by vertue of this Article, That the said Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* shall be restored to his Possessions, Lands, Provinces and Cities, in the same Condition as they now are; as likewise to his Sovereignty (as it is term'd) granted to him by vertue of the Treaties of *Rosbilit* and *Copenhagen*; so, that whatever has been done and transacted since, shall not be drawn into Consequence in opposition to those Treaty's; which, as well that of *Rosbilit*, as that of *Copenhagen* and *Westphalia*, shall stand and remain in their full Force, as far as they have any Relation to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, as if they had been inserted word by word in this Treaty. And, forasmuch as the antient Unions and Compacts made betwixt the two (Royal and Ducal) Houses, are confirm'd by the said Treaty's, it is covenanted and agreed with the said Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, that the said Hereditary Unions and Compacts shall remain in their full force, and

and be punctually and faithfully observed on both sides, nothing being to be done against them under any Pretence whatever.

This is that Article of the Peace of *Fountain-Bleau*, which being mentioned and confirmed in the Treaty of *Altena*, has given occasion to new Troubles betwixt these two Houses; the Account of which, will be the Subject of the following Chapters.

CHAP. VII.

The true State of the Difference arisen betwixt CHRISTIAN V. King of Denmark, and Christian Albert Duke of Holstein Gottorp, after the Treaty of Rensburgh, till the Treaty of Fountain-Bleau, and Altena.

After the Conclusion of the Treaty at *Rensburgh*, the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, did not remain long in the same Sentiment; the beginning was made with certain Pamphlets, in which the Transaction of *Rensburgh*, were Painted in the blackest Colours imaginable; at which the King of *Denmark* being extremely Surprised, writ in very Obliging Terms to the Duke, to know whether those Things had been done with his Consent, and, if not, to shew his Resentment both against those Pamphlets and the Authors of them. The Duke answering in very ambiguous terms; the King sent him word, that since he deny'd him so reasonable a Satisfaction, he could not take it amiss, if he did,

so much Justice both to his Person and Himself, as to secure those, who were the Authors and fomenters of those Divisions and Mischiefs, which he protested he was constrained to by an absolute Necessity to prevent a further Rupture betwixt the two Houses, and as a Testimony of his sincere Inclinations towards the Duke, ordered the Garrison, which he kept in *Sleswick*, to be removed from thence, offering to give him all further Security he could desire.

The Duke
flees to Ham-
burgh.

The Duke was so alarm'd at this Proposal, that, being then at *Eutin* with his Brother the Bishop of *Lubeck*, instead of returning to *Gotorp*, his ordinary Residence, he went to *Hamborough*, where he was no sooner arriv'd, but he began to call in question the Legality of the Treaty of *Rensburgh*, and within a Year and a Half after, declared it null and void; He offered however, to receive the Investiture of the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, provided the King would give him Satisfaction concerning certain Points, which being contrary to the said Treaty, the King would not hearken to, or at least, not before he had received the said Investiture.

Things continued for some time in this Posture, whilst the Queen Dowager of *Denmark* employed all her Authority and good Offices with her Son-in-Law the Duke, to perswade him to a Compliance with his Majesty's Desires, pursuant to the Treaty of *Rensburgh*; but the Duke persisting in his former Resolution, the King of *Denmark* made a Sequestration of the Ducal Share of the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, alledging for his Justification, to be entitled to it, by the Duke's being from his Vassal, become his Enemy. This Sequestration continued till
the

the beforementioned Peace, made at *Fountain-Blean*, in which there being inserted an Article, in Favour of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, this gave birth to new Troubles. For, the Duke's Ministers interpreted those Words in the said Article, That *whatever has been done and transacted since, shall not be drawn into Consequence in Opposition to those Treaties*, (to wit: of *Roshilt* and *Copenhagen*) as if thereby all what had been transacted and agreed upon in the Year 1675, at *Rensburgh*, was actually annull'd and made void, without any Exception; Whereas the *Danes* say, That these Words of this Article are plainly intended no further than of what had been concluded there *in opposition to the Treaties of Roshilt and Copenhagen*. Now says they, it is manifest that these Articles of the Treaty of *Rensburgh*, which divest the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* of his Sovereignty, are absolutely contrary to the said Treaties of *Roshilt* and *Copenhagen*; for which Reason also the King of *Denmark* has restor'd the Duke to his Sovereignty, and performed every thing else, that was done before, contrary to the said Treaties; But as to what relates to the Imposing and Collecting of Taxes, and the common Defence of the Dukedoms, those Articles of the Treaty of *Rensburgh*, says they, as they are not opposite to the Treaties of *Roshilt* and *Copenhagen*, but have been introduced since contrary to the Union and antient Custom observed betwixt those two Houses, so they have not been abolish'd by this Article of the Peace of *Fountain-Blean*.

There being at that time some Differences on foot betwixt his *Danish* Majesty and his Allies, by reason of the Conclusion of the late Peace

Next after
reference to
the late Peace
between Den-
mark and the
Duke of Hol-
stein.

at *Nimeguen*, and *Denmark* being extremely weakned by the vast Charges it had been at in prosecuting the War against *Sweden*, this was look'd upon by the Duke and his Ministers as a favourable Juncture for them, to push the point to the utmost, in order to obtain their End, which was supposed to be to dissolve by degrees the whole Union betwixt those two Houses, the better to link themselves with the Crown of *Sweden*. The Court of *Denmark* are very positive in this Point, that they have authentick and undeniable Proofs, in their hands, by which it appears, that the Duke at that very time entred into new Alliances for that purpose, promising considerable Subsidies (such as were beyond his Power to pay) to some Princes, not well affected to the Crown of *Denmark*, in case they would send some Forces into the Dukedom to back his Pretensions. Whereupon the King of *Denmark* made a second Sequestration of the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, as far as it belong'd to the Duke's Jurisdiction, and at the same time made his Application to the Imperial Court, to desire that some reasonable Satisfaction might be given him, in reference to the Duke's Share in the Dukedom of *Holstein*.

Things remained thus without any considerable Alteration till the Year 1689, when most of the Princes of *Europe* being engag'd in a War against *France* (the two Northern Crowns and *Portugal* excepted) the *Swedes* did lay hold of this Opportunity, to endeavour the Restauration of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*. For which purpose they set out a good Fleet, as did likewise the *Danes* to oppose them, in case they should go about to second their Threats by

Blows.

flows; The Allies seeing that this was likely to kindle a War in the North, which must of necessity bereave them of all the Hopes they had conceived of a powerful Succour from thence, against their common Enemy, used all their Endeavours for a Reconciliation; to accomplish which, the Emperour, and the two Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, offered their Mediation, which being accepted of on both sides, a Treaty was set on foot at a place call'd *Altena*, under the Jurisdiction of his *Danish* Majesty, as Duke of *Holstein*, not above an *English* Mile distant from *Hamborough*. Great application was likewise made to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the *Dutch*, as Guarantees of the Northern Peace; the last of which sent Monsieur *Heemskerck*, who in conjunction with the Envoy Extraordinary from *England*, had a great hand in bringing the Matter to a Conclusion; But above all, the pressing Instances of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburgh*, who was willing to take away from the *Suedes* all Pretensions of transporting an Army over the *Baltick*; and the Intercessions of his Royal Highness Prince *George* of *Denmark*, had so powerful an Influence upon the *Danish* Court, that on the 20th of *June* old Stile, a Peace was concluded betwixt the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, Peace made
at *Altena*. by vertue of which, the Duke was restored to all his Possessions and Rights (yet without the least Reparations of Damages) upon the same foot, as he was possess'd of them by the Treaties of *Rosbilt* and *Copenhagen*; tho' the *Holstein Gottorp*'s Ministers have since endeavoured to extend it to a much larger Compass, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large anon.

I will only say, that the Conclusion of this Treaty produced this good Effect for the Allies, that the *Swedish* Forces continued in the *Dutch* Service, and, by vertue of a Treaty betwixt *England* and the King of *Denmark*, the last sent seven thousand Souldiers to our Assistance, which did us considerable Service, both in *Ireland* and *Flanders*, to the very end of the War.

And upon this occasion I cannot pass by in Silence the Generous Concurrence of His Royal Highness *George* Prince of *Denmark*, in bringing the said Treaty to a happy Issue. It is to be observed, that Pursuant to the last Will and Testament of King *Frederick* III. his youngest Son Prince *George*, was (besides certain Allotments in Lands) to have the Summ of three hundred thousand Crowns for his Share, which Summ, according to a Liquidation made betwixt his Brother King *Christian* V. and *Christian* Albert

From whence
arises the debt
due to the
Prince of *Den-*
mark from
England.

the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, was to be paid to the said Prince, by the last; who for his better Security Mortgaged to him the Isle of *Fehmern*, besides two or three other Balliages, till the said Summ should be paid. Now, pursuant to the late Peace of *Altena*, the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, being to be restored to all his Dominions, in the same manner as he was possess'd of them, by vertue of the Treaties of *Rosbilit* and *Copenhagen*, and he pleading his inability to satisfy so considerable a Debt, after having been deprived of the Benefit of his Revenues, for near thirteen Years last past, His Royal Highness Prince *George*, not to obstruct the Execution of the Peace, and to contribute all what in him lay towards the remo-

ving

ving all occasions of further Differences, did by an unparallel'd Act of Generosity, freely resign the beforementioned Mortgaged Island and Ralliages into the Duke's Hands, His Present Majesty of *Great Britain*, the *Dutch* and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, having Engaged their Word to satisfy the said Debt to His Royal Highness; pursuant to which Agreement, His *Britannick* Majesty recommended the said Debt at the opening of this Session of Parliament, to their Consideration, with such Success, that the *English* Share of it is Assign'd to be paid out of the present Aid of two Shilling per Pound.

His Generosity.

So, that the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* owed this Obligation to his Brother-in-Law Prince *George*, to see himself once more restored to his Dominions, without the least Incumbrance, the consequence of which was, that the said Duke ever after this last Reconciliation, lived in a perfect good understanding with King *Christian V.* notwithstanding some of his Counsellours endeavoured to sow afresh the Seeds of Discord betwixt them; but in vain, he continuing in the same Sentiment to the very last; of which good Correspondence, one undeniable Instance was the Fortifications of *Rensburgh* and *Tonnin-gen*, made by the Mutual Consent of both Houses, the first by the King, the last by the Duke, looking upon those places as the Bulwarks of the two Dukedoms for their Mutual Defence; But this good Harmony ceasing with the said Duke's Life, occasioned those Divisions, which for these four or five Years past have been, and still are on Foot, betwixt the Crown of *Denmark*, and the young Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*.

CHAP. VIII.

An Account of the Siege of Hamborough, undertaken by King Christian V. in the Year 1686.

BEfore we pursue the thread of our History concerning the Differences on Foot betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, we must look back as far as the Year 1686, when King *Christian V.* Attack't the City of *Hamborough* with great Vigour. It is very well known that the Kings of *Denmark* lay Claim to that City as being Dukes of *Holstein*; to examine which, is beyond our present purpose, we will only give a brief Account of the occasion which induced the said King to take so Vigorous a Resolution, to back his Pretensions. It is therefore to be observed, that there being certain Differences arisen between the Senate and the Commonalty of that City some years before, the same were carried on by the *Burghers*, to such a hight, that the Commonweal was threatned with an Imminent Ruine, by reason of their refusing to pay any Taxes towards the support of the Government, before their Grievances were Redress'd, which tended Chiefly to make new Encroachments upon the Authority of the Senate.

To prevent the further ill Consequence of this popular Mischief, it was thought conveni-

Differences
betwixt the
Senate and
Commonalty
of Hamburgh
occasion this
Siege.

ent to seek for Redress by His Imperial Majesty, who thereupon sent the Count of *Win-*
ajsh Graetz, as his Commissioner, to endeavour the Composition of those Differences, which he effected accordingly, by putting a check upon the Ring-leaders of the dissatisfied Party, and confirming the Senate in his Authority.

There was about that time in the Senate, one Mr. *Nicholas Crull*, a Man of a very active Spirit, who having been formerly a great Patron of the Commonalty in maintaining their Liberties, as long as they contained themselves within their due Bounds, did afterwards, when they transgressed their Limits, prove as strenuous an Assertor of the Senate's Authority, of which he was a Member, and was very instrumental in reducing some of the Leading Men of the Adverse Party to their Duty. Those not being able to digest those hard Terms they were under (according to their Opinion) laid hold of the first Opportunity, after the departure of the Imperial Commissioner, to represent at one of the publick Assemblies of the Commonalty, this Senator as a Person, who had endangered the publick Liberty, and therefore not to be suffered to continue in a Station, where he might have frequent opportunity to clip their Wings; The Bait of *Publick Liberty* was so greedily swallowed by the unthinking Multitude, that they were all for removing the said Mr. *Crull* from his Station in the Senate, and with great violence demanded it; so that the Senate not being able to withstand, after many Contests, their fury, saw themselves under a necessity to Consent, to have the said Mr. *Crull*, suspended, for the present, of his Function. He seeing what constraint the Senate lay under by the

The Emper-
or's Authori-
ty signified by
the Ham-
burghers.

the violence of the unruly Multitude, and having but little hopes of Redress on that side, made his Appeal to the Imperial Court, who gave Sentence in his Favour, that he should be restored to his Dignity, Offices and Profits. But the Commonalty knowing the Emperour at that time Engaged in a heavy War with the *Turks*, and consequently not in a Condition to force them to a Compliance, made but little Account of the reiterate Mandats sent by the Emperour, to put his Sentence in Execution, whilst the wiser part of the Senate (some of whom sided with the Commons) fearing the ill consequences of it, urged them to a Compliance with the Emperour's Mandats. Among them was one *Mr. Meuring* who being a very bold Man, did stand up above all the rest for the Senate's Authority, and paying due Obedience to the Emperour, which the Commonalty not approving of, they play'd the same Game with him as they had done before with the Senator *Crull*, or rather worse; for all on a sudden, without the least fore-warning, they forced the Senate to put him under a Confinement, nor would they suffer him to be released, till he had resign'd his Senators place, and made a Declaration in Writing, confirmed by his Oath, that he would never endeavour for the Future to be restored to it.

But this Precaution proved fruitless, for *Mr. Meuring* not thinking himself obliged to an Oath, which was forced from him, he for his own Preservation, left the City the next day, seeking for shelter at the Court of the Duke of *Lunenburg Zell*.

The Proceedings of the Commonalty being against all form of Law, he soon obtained a Mandat from the Emperour for his Restauration, which being as little regarded by the Commons of *Hamborough*, as the former had been, the Emperour sent his Orders to the said Duke of Zell, as Director of the Circle of Lower Saxony. Mr. *Mewing* being a Man of a considerable Estate, soon engag'd the Court of Zell in his Interest, so that they not only stop't the Passage of all the Vessels that came down the River towards *Hamborough*, but at last sent some of their Troops into their Territories, where they were to live upon free Cost, till such time the *Hamburgers* should comply with the Emperour's Mandats.

*He engages
the Duke of
Zell in the
Quarrel.*

Things being come to this Pass, the Ring-leaders of the adverse Party were sorely put to a Nonplus what to resolve upon in this Exigency of their Affairs, most of the common People beginning to murmur about the Decay of Trade, and the heavy Taxes laid upon them, to maintain themselves against the lawful Authority of the Emperour; so that the adverse Party not knowing what expedient to pitch upon, they began to call in question the Emperour's Authority in relation to the Matter in hand.

This prov'd a wish'd for Opportunity to the King of *Denmark*; who being resolved to make use of this occasion to improve his Pretensions upon that City, gave all possible Encouragement to the Commons, alledging that what was undertaken against the City by the Emperour's Order, was done to his Prejudice: But not satisfied with this, he unexpectedly appeared with a formidable Force before the City Gates, demanding

manding to be acknowledg'd as their Protector against the Violence put upon them by the Emperour; and that in case of a refusal, they must expect to be treated as Enemies.

The King
of Denmark
attacks Ham-
burgh.

The Senate of *Hamborough* not relishing those Propositions, the King of *Denmark*, seconded his Threats with immediate Blows. There is a Fort of five Bastions (from whence it is called the *Star-fort*) situate on the Northwest-side of the City in a large Plain; This the *Danes* attack'd the very first Night with Sword in hand, in hopes, that, if they could make themselves Masters of it, they would be able to bring the City to other Terms by a Bombardment: But the Garrison in the Fort being well prepared for the Assault, they were repulsed with great Loss. The *Danes* were so far from being dis-

Are twice
repulsed.

couraged at this first ill Success, that they attack'd it again the next day, with incredible Fury; but the Fort being so conveniently situated, as to have a Communication with some other Outworks belonging to the Fortifications of that City, and consequently being constantly supply'd with fresh Troops from thence, they miscarried likewise in the second Attempt:

The King of *Denmark* and his Generals, being now made sensible that the said Fort, both by reason of its Strength, and the Conveniency of its being relieved with fresh Supplies from the City, was not to be taken by a sudden Assault, it was resolved to attack it in form, and to endeavour to cut off all Communication betwixt the said Fort and the City. But in the mean while that the *Danes* were advancing their Trenches, not only the *Luneburgh* Forces, that were quartered in their Territories, but also

They open
their Trenches.

a good Body of *Brandenburgh* Horse were at the Request of the Senate, come to their Relief; so that, what with those and their own Troops, they had a good Body of regular Forces, consisting of near 12000 Men in the City; and the *Suedes* in the Dukedom of *Bremen*, had furnished them a good Number of expert Gunners, who not a little annoy'd the *Danes* in their Trenches. But these working without intermission on their Lines of Communication and some small Forts, by which they hoped to prevent the coming of any Succours to the Relief of the *Starfort*, it was resolved among those who had the Command in the City, to endeavour to dislodge the *Danes* out of their Works, by making a strong and vigorous Sally; which being put in execution accordingly, with all imaginable Secrecy, they fell upon the *Danes* ^{Araroused in a Sally.} with such Fury, that they cut near 1500 of them in pieces in and near the Trenches, before they could be relieved by their Cavalry, at the Approach of which the *Hamburghers* retreated towards their Gates, the *Danish* Horse charging their Rear all the while; There happened in this Engagement a certain Action very well worth our Observation; For, a certain *Danish* ^{Bravery of a Danish Officer.} Officer of Horse in the heat of the Engagement entered Pall-Mall with the *Hamburgher* Troops, thro' the first Gate, when being espyed by the Captain who kept the Guard there, and was going to Discharge his *Fussee* at him, he Shot him thro' the Head, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, Fought his way thro' those that opposed his Passage, and escaped safely to the *Danish* Camp.

After

After this Engagement a Treaty was set on Foot by the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Duke of *Lunenburg Zell*; the last coming in Person to his Castle of *Haverburgh*, situate on the other side of the River *Elbe*, just opposite to *Hamburgh*, to give the more life to the intended Composition; Neither was the *English* Envoy, then residing in that City, wanting on his part, to Contribute what lay in his Power, to bring Matters to an Accommodation, by reason of the considerable Interest the *English* Company there, has in its Preservation; so, that after some Debates; during which time the *Danes* made a Tryal of some few of their Bombs, which because of their too great distance, had no Effect, an Agreement was made betwixt the King of *Denmark* and the City; the main Article of which was, that things should remain in *Statu quo*, without any prejudice to the King of *Denmark's* just Pretensions, till the Year 1700, and that in the interim, a good Correspondence should be Cultivated on both Sides.

An agree-
ment made
with the
City.

It was the wonder of all *Europe* at that time, to see the King of *Denmark* Attack a City with fifteen or sixteen thousand Men, which by reason of the vast extent of its Fortifications and Strength (being five or six Miles in Compass) required rather an Army of three or four score thousand Men to besiege it in due form. It was the general Opinion at that time, that the said Attack would scarce have been undertaken, without a secret Correspondence within the Place, and the dissatisfied Party of that City was charged with it, who seeing their Affairs reduced to a desperate Condition, were supposed to have no other

other Refuge than to the Protection of *Denmark*. But on the other hand, this has been constantly denied by the *Danes*, who declare, that, that tho' their King saw himself obliged in point of Policy to make use of this Juncture, when the Differences betwixt the Senate and a strong dissatisfied Party were risen to the highest pitch, nevertheless that Court did not keep any secret Correspondence with them. What the Senate of *Hamborough* alledge on their side, seems not to agree in all Points with this; for they say, that by a Letter sent by one of the Chief Ring-leaders of the Conspiracy, which was accidentally intercepted; they were informed of a certain Iron-Chest, hid in a Cellar in a private House, which thereupon being found, and opened in the presence of several Persons of unquestionable Credit and Authority in that City; many Papers of dangerous consequence, such as Journals of their Transactions, and several Letters relating to their Design were discovered, by which it appeared, that they were entred into a Conspiracy to overturn the Constitution of the Government. Thus much is beyond all Contradiction, that two of the Chief of the dissatisfied Faction paid with their Heads for it, their Quarters being put upon the City Gates; one of the Senators, who was accused to have a hand in the Conspiracy, and was kept under close Confinement upon that Account, in order to be brought to his Tryal, died very suddenly during his Confinement, and was supposed to have poysoned himself, to avoid the Shame of an ignominious Death; several were banished the Territories of the City, and many others, as well Gentlemen as Citizens retir'd into the *Danish* Dominions.

Some of the conspirators; amongst others

CHAP. IX.

Of the differences arisen betwixt King Christian V. and the young Duke of Holstein Gottorp, after the Death of his Father, Duke Christian Albert.

The young Duke of Holstein takes new measures.

AFTER the Death of *Christian Albert*, the late Duke of *Holstein*, which happened about the Year 1693, his Son *Friederick* began to take quite other measures, from what his Father had done of late Years; For, he not only entred into a more strict Alliance with *Sweden*, but also took some of their Forces into his Service, and considerably augmented his own Troops, without any previous Communication with the King of *Denmark*. Whereupon the last sent to the Duke two of his Ministers, to wit: *Monsieur Lilien Crown*, a Member of his Privy Council, and *Monsieur Schroeder*, to represent to him, that, being, the time of the Sessions of the Provincial Court of Justice did approach, in which, pursuant to the Tenour of the antient Unions, the Duke was to preside as *Condominus*, for this Year, His Majesty had hitherto put no stop to the calling of the said Assembly, and had consented that the Ceremony of the Homage should be performed, provided it were done in due Form, and pursuant to the antient Customs and Constitutions made for the maintaining a constant Union and Communion between the

two

two Houses; but the Duke having transgressed these Bounds by taking Foreigners into his Service, and making new Levies without his Consent, he had ordered his Ministers to desire him, first, to let him know, what Share, by vertue of the deceased Duke *Christian Albert's* Testament, his younger Brother *Christian* had in the two Dukedoms? Secondly, That he would renew the antient Union betwixt these two Houses; and thirdly, That he would be pleased to send back the foreign Troops.

Propositions made to him by the King of Denmark.

The two last he positively refused; as to the first, he ordered his Ministers to give them the following Answer:

That the Duke could not but be extremely surprised at the King's Demand, to Communicate to his Ministers the Contents of his Father's Testament, to shew his Legal Title to the Inheritance of the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, being devolved to him by a Legal Right of Succession; and, that therefore he did not think himself obliged to give any further Answer upon that Account; especially, since he did not remember, that the King, after the decease of his Father King *Frederick III.* had made out his Title to his Father the Duke *Christian Albert*; nor did he expect now any thing like it from him. That he was of Opinion that the King of *Denmark* had not the least concern in his Father's Testament, he being not made Executor of it; for which Reason also his Majesty had the less reason, to desire the same to be Communicated to him.

His Answer.

This Letter together with the Dukes Resolution upon the two other Points, were so ill relishing to the *Danish* Court, that they gave

the Duke to understand that he must not take it amiss, if they should take other Measures, such, as would not be agreeable to him, if he persisted in the same Humour; upon which the Duke declared, that he would Consent to renew the Union, but no otherwise than under certain Restrictions, and not before he were satisfied concerning certain Points, which he claimed by virtue of the last Treaty of *Altena*; all which we shall have occasion to speak more at large of hereafter, when we come to the Point of examining the Reasons alledged on both sides, for their Justification; We will only mention in this place, that the *Danish* Court looking upon those things as Evasions to avoid, or at least to delay the said renewing of the Antient Union. Matters seem'd to tend to an open Rupture at that time, if by the interposition of those Princes, who had been Mediators at the Treaty of *Altena*, both Parties had not been prevailed upon, to endeavour to terminate those Differences by an Amicable Composition.

The King of *Denmark*, whose Health began then already to be in a declining Condition, being very unwilling to Embroil his Kingdom, was for Contributing all what possible he could to prevent a Rupture, and therefore accepted of the Mediation, provided it could be done without any prejudice to his Legal Right, and ordered his Ministers, that at the opening of the Conferences, began at *Pinnenbergh* in the Year 1696. they should enter this following Protest; That the King of *Denmark* was very willing to Contribute all what lay in his Power to facilitate this Negotiation, provided it might be done without impairing his Right, pursuant to the

the Antient Unions; and that, if the Duke in the mean while should make any Innovations to his prejudice, he would look upon it, as an actual Breach, and that the Conferences were at an end.

The King of Denmark's Protest.

The Ministers Mediators did not only Attest, and insert into their Records the said Protest; But also agreed upon a Deed, Signed by them with joint Consent, that those Conferences should not in any wise be interpreted, as prejudicial to the Constitutions of the Antient Hereditary Unions betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*; and, that, in Case the Duke should pretend to make any Innovations during the time of those Conferences, They would, by virtue of their Authority, as Mediators, prevent the same; and especially put a stop to all new Levies, to the receiving any more Foreigners into his Service, and the finishing these Fortifications he had begun.

The Declaration of the Mediators at Breitenburg.

The Conferences being set on Foot upon this Basis, the Ministers of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, putting a quite different Interpretation upon the Second Article of the Treaty of *Altena*, than would be allowed of by the *Danes*, demanded not only what was granted to the Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp* by virtue of the Treaties of *Roskilde* and *Copenhagen*, but also to be Confirmed and Maintained in those things, which were introduced since that time, during the Contests betwixt those two Houses, which they pretended, to be confirmed to them, by the beforementioned second Article, which is as follows:

His *Danish* Majesty obliges himself to Restore to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* all his Lands and

The second Article of the Treaty of Altena.

Possessions, especially the *Scat*, called *Gods Gift*; his Sovereignty, Royal Rights and Prerogatives of gathering Taxes, making Alliances and erecting Fortifications, to *Confirm* the said Duke in the Possession of them; as likewise in all his rights and Prerogatives, in the same manner as he was possess'd of them, both before and since the *Westphalian Peace*, and the Treaties of *Roskilde* and *Copenhagen*, till the Year 1675; as likewise all what the said Duke may justly lay claim to by Vertue of the Peacemade at *Fountain Bleau*; all which beforementioned Treaty's are *Confirmed* by these presents; &c.

But, whilst both Parties were contesting about the Interpretation of this Article, the Duke's Ministers pretending that thereby the Duke was Invested with a more ample Power than he had before that time; whereas the Danish Ministers alledged, that the Words: *His Majesty restores the Duke to his Rights*, in the same manner as he has been possess'd of them both before and since the Treaties, &c. made it evident, that no new Power was thereby intended to be granted to the Duke, but only to *Restore* to him, what he had been Possess'd of before, by vertue of the abovementioned Treaties; whilst, I say, these Contests were in agitation at the Conferences of *Pinnenbergh*, the Duke did perfect his Fortifications, and took more Foreign Troops into his Service, the better to Maintain himself against those who should oppose it; so, that the King of *Denmark* to hinder his further Progress, and to shew to the World that he was resolved to back his Protest, offered to the Mediators at the opening of the Conferences, with a sufficient Force, did attack and demo-

lish'd the said Forts in the Year 1697. Which having not many Months ago been Rebuilt with Considerable Additions, this has occasioned a new Breach between the present King of Denmark, Successor to his late Majesty King *Christian V.* and the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, which having made so much Noise in the World of late, it will, I suppose, not be amiss, to mention here the Chief Heads, upon which each Party has founded their Pretensions.

The Differences lately revived betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, may conveniently be reduced under those three Heads :

First, Whether the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, pursuant to the desire of *Christian V.* King of *Denmark*, is obliged to send back those Foreign Troops he has taken into his Service, and to stop his own Levies, made without the Knowledge and Approbation of His *Danish* Majesty ?

The Heads of the differences now on foot betwixt Denmark and Holstein.

Secondly, Whether he is obliged to renew and confirm the Antient Hereditary Unions ? And Thirdly, Whether he ought to Communicate the Contents of the late Duke his Fathers Testament, as far as it relates to the Succession in the two Dukedoms, to the King of *Denmark* ?

For the first the *Danes* alledge the four following Reasons :

Reasons alledged by the Danes on their side.

(1) Because the Nature of the Communion in both Dukedoms require it ;

(2) Because the constant Practice of both this and the former Age Confirm it.

(3) Because the Predecessors of the present Duke have frequently acknowledged it ;

And (4) Because it is altogether Conformable to the Constitution of the Antient Hereditary Unions betwixt those two Houses.

The first
Argument
upon the first
Head.

The first Argument they prove; Because the supream Authority, and the joint Exercise of Justice plainly evince, that neither Party is entitled to Act separately in any thing relating to the Government, without the Consent of the other; All Proclamations, and other publick Acts, such as imposing and gathering Taxes being Authorised by the Concurrence and in the Name of both the King and Duke. The Prelates, Nobility and Cities, not excepted the City of *Sleswick* it self, the ordinary Residence of the Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp*, being obliged to pay Homage, and take the Oath of Allegiance, both to the Kings of *Denmark* and Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp*, at their first Accession to the Regency; from whence arises the Words *Condominus* and *Condominium*, so frequently used both by the late Duke and their Ancestors. Besides, That the Territories allotted to each of those Houses are so intermixt by their Situation, that it is impossible for the Troops of one of those Princes, to March thro' any considerable part of the Country, without passing thro' the other; by which it appears that the Ancestors of those two Houses intended to prevent all pretences of making separate Levies, without a mutual Consent of both Parties; so, says they, That the Duke has no more Power to receive any Foreign Troops in the Dukedoms, without the Approbation of His Majesty, than a private Person has to permit Strangers to take Possession of a House, which he has in co-partnership with others.

As

*The second
Argument
upon the first
Head.*

As to the Second Argument, they alledge several Instances, by which they prove that it has been the constant Practice observed by both those Houses, not to make any separate Levies, without the Consent of both Parties; it being certain, that the Antient Division and Situation of their respective Territories being such, as not to admit of an unlimited Power in this Point, to either side, their wise Ancestors, pursuant to the true Intent of their joint Dominion, always looking upon it, as the Foundation-stone of their safety, to Act in the Defence as well of their Country, as in the Exercise of the Government, with mutual Consent; the first of which had been introduced into those Countries several hundred Years before it fell to the *Oldenburgh* Family, as is evident from the several Compacts made betwixt the Earls of the *Shauenburgh* Family in the Years 1316, 1390, 1397, and 1404. from whence it is, that the Words of *Communis Terræ (Sleswicensis & Holsatiae) defensio*, is so frequently mentioned in the Transactions of the Antient Dukes of *Sleswick* and Earls of *Holstein*, to wit; in the Years 1226, 1250, 1260, 1264, 1328, 1358, and 1472. Upon the said Basis it was, that King *Christopher III.* Built his Union, the States having represented to him, *that it would be very dangerous, both to the Prince and Subject, to divide their Strength, in Case they should be attack't by an Enemy.*

This Practice has been constantly observed till the Year 1657, before which time, no Warlike preparations were ever undertaken without Joynt-Consent, the summoning of the Militia of the Country, as well as the Levies of regular Troops being always undertaken, after mutual deli-

deliberations in both Sides Names, every one bearing his Share in the Charges, the Officers as well as Soldiers being obliged to take an Oath to the Government in general. The Marches and Enquarterings of the Soldiery, the building of the necessary Forts, and their Defence, the Garrisoning of Places, the Disbanding or augmenting of their Troops, buying up of Provisions, Artillery and other Necessaries, the Inhibitions of further Levies, permitted to Strangers, nay, even the entring into foreign Alliances, or whatever else had any relation to the common defence of those Countries, being constantly transacted with joint Council, and in the Name of both Houses. There are not wanting Instances, that whenever the Dukes did give but the least occasion of Jealousy upon this Account, the Kings of *Denmark* were never wanting on their part to admonish and contradict them, and to demand suitable Satisfaction, which the Dukes used to comply with either by resigning those Levies to the Service of the Joint-Government, as was done in the Year 1559. or else by giving publick Assurance, that they were intended for the common defence of the Country, and were accordingly employed in that Service; Two remarkable Instances of which happened in the Years 1631 and 1644, as is evident from the publick Records of those Dukedoms.

The third
Argument
is the joint
Consent.

As to what relates to the third Point, which is the acknowledgment of the Predecessors of the present young Duke, viz. That, as they were obliged to contribute their Share to the common defence of the Country; so they were not entitled to any separate Levies, of this the *Dukes* alledge several Instances in their behalf.

In

In a Letter written the 10th of *May* in the Year 1554. the then Duke of *Holstein Gottorp Adolph* excuses himself to the King of *Denmark*; That he, for weighty Reasons, had found himself under a necessity to make Levies of some Horse and Foot, in the King's Absence, not questioning but his Majesty would approve his Conduct. And when in the Year 1559. *Frederick II.* the then King of *Denmark* conceived a Jealousy at some Levies he had made, he sent some of his Ministers to the said Duke, to be truly inform'd of the Matter, who excused himself, that being then Colonel of the Circle of the *Lower Saxony* (which he had not accepted of but with the King's good liking) he had made those Levies in behalf of the Circle and the *Spaniards*; notwithstanding which, at an Interview betwixt the King and the Duke at *Nortorf*, it was agreed, that those Forces, as well Officers as Soldiers, should be taken into their Joint-Pay, and swear Fealty to them accordingly.

In the Year 1611, *Christian IV.* King of *Denmark*, being engag'd in a War with *Sweden*, it was thought convenient, that some Troops should be raised for the Defence of those Countries; both Houses were so far from undertaking a Matter of such Moment, separately, that, tho' a pressing Necessity required it, both the King and the then Duke of *Holstein Gottorp, John Adolph*, did jointly make this Proposition to the Assembly of the Estates at *Kiel*, desiring that certain Deputies might be appointed, with whom they might treat concerning these Levies, and what depended on them.

The said Duke *John Adolph*, being summoned to furnish his *Quota* for the defence of the Circle of the *Lower-Saxony*, in the Year 1613, he would not give them his Resolution, till he had communicated the Matter to the King in his Letter, dated the 25th of *November*, in these following words :

I was unwilling to give a positive Answer to the Demands of the Collonel of the Circle of the *Lower Saxony*, or to engage my self in any thing of this nature, without the Knowledge and Consent of Your Majesty, as the Joint Regent and Lord of these Dukedoms; for which Reason, I gave them only this Answer, that I could do nothing in the Matter, without the previous Consent of Your Majesty.

There are frequent Instances, that Duke *Frederick*, the Successor of Duke *John Adolph*, did acknowledge both by Words and Deed the said *Condominium*, both in relation to the Civil and Military Administration of the Government, There is a certain Proclamation, dated the 28th of *March*, in the Year 1620, published under the Names of *Christian IV.* King of *Denmark* and *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, which expressly prohibits any Levies to be made in both the Dukedoms without express Leave from both; such another Edict had been published before in the Year 1599; both which being renewed by mutual Consent of King *Christian V.* and the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, in the Year 1671, it will not be amiss to insert the Letters which pass'd betwixt them, as far as they relate to that Subject.

An Abstract of a Letter from Christian V. King of Denmark, Norway, &c. to Christian Albert, Duke of Holstein Gottorp. Dated Copenhagen 31 December, 1670.

IT is Notorious, that most of our Neighbours are making strong Levies both of Horse and Foot; and because we have all the reason in the World to fear, that they will endeavour to list what Men they can in our Territories, and it being our Opinion, that the same ought by all means to be prevented in time, before they exhaust our Territories of the best of our Subjects in this dangerous Juncture. It is for this Reason We thought fit to make this Proposition to Your Highness, leaving it to your Consideration, whether it would not be convenient to prohibit all foreign Levies in our Territories, under severe Penalties, by a Publick Proclamation; and to enjoin our Subjects not to enter into foreign Service, *without our Joint-Consent.*

King Christian V. Letter to the Duke of Holstein.

The Answer of Christian Albert, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, to Christian V. King of Denmark, Norway, &c. Dated Gottorp 4 January, 1671.

WE received Your Majesty's Letter, dated the 31th of the last Month; and as We are sensible both of Your Majesty's singular Care in preventing foreign Levies to be made in our Territories, and that our Subjects shall not enter into any foreign Service *without our Joint-Consent*, pursuant to the Tenour of *Our ancient Constitutions*; so, We will take effectual Care,

The Duke's Answer.

Care, that a severe Proclamation shall speedily be publish'd in both our Names, against those Proceedings, which We will beforehand send to Your Chancery at *Gluckstadt*, in order to pass the Seal.

The said Duke *Christian Albert* was so nice in observing every thing that had the least relation to this *Communion*, (even after he had obtained the Sovereignty by the *Northern Peace*) before things came to a Rupture betwixt those two Houses, that when in the Year 1662, he had an Intention of taking a Journey into *Holland*, he thought fit first to give notice of it to *Frederick III.* then King of *Denmark*, as appears from the following Letter.

Christian Albert, the Duke of Holstein Gottorp's Letter, to Frederick III. King of Denmark, Norway, &c. 12 Febr. 1662.

*The Duke of
Holstein's
Letter to
King Freder-
ick III.*

I Thought my self obliged to give Your Majesty Notice of my intended Journey into *Holland*; which, as I did not judge convenient to undertake without Your Majesty's Knowledge and Consent, considering the present juncture of Affairs, and how inseparably Your Majesty's and my own Interest are link'd together in these two Dukedoms; So, I offer by these presents, both, to Your Consideration and Care, and take this Opportunity of taking most humbly Leave from Your Majesty.

So, when in the Year 1668. His Imperial Majesty in a Letter directed to the said Duke, and dated the 7 of *December*, desired his Concurrence in granting to him (Engaged in a War against the *Turks*) the Subsidy, called the *Roman*

Roman Months, then in agitation at the Diet at *Ratisbon*, the Duke in his Letter to the King of *Denmark*, dated the 2 of *Jan.* 1669. says expressly: That he had return'd only a general Answer to the Emperour, till such a time, that he could know the King's Resolution, in a Matter, which concerned their joint Government.

So, there are many Instances of the said Dukes having opposed the separate *jus armorum*; (the main thing in dispute now betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*;) The first is concerning a Fort erected by King *Frederick III.* called *Preisorth*, upon which occasion Duke *Christian Albert*, writ to the King of *Denmark*, the following Letter, dated at *Gottorp* the 29 of *Jan.* 1663.

The late
Duke of Hol-
stein's Letter
to King Fre-
derick III.

Being informed that Your Majesty's Intention is to re-fortifie the place, called *Preisorth*, nay, that the same is actually begun, without being in the least Communicated to Us, contrary to Antient Custom; I found my self obliged to represent this Matter to Your Majesty's Minister residing here, as a Novelty, introduced contrary to the Sentiment of the Estates, now Assembled at *Kiel*, and to desire that a stop might be put to it, but without any Effect hitherto, &c.

In the Year 1672. a Difference being arisen betwixt the Ministers of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, concerning certain Propositions, to be made to the next Assembly of the Estates, which the *Danish* would have done without the Approbation of Duke *Christian Albert*, he writ the following Letter to King *Christian V.* dated at *Gottorp*, the 21 of *April* 1672.

We

*The late Duke
of Holstein's
Letter to
King Christi-
an V.*

We desire Your Majesty to consider accordingly to your great Wisdom, that *there are no instances to be met with, when Matters relating to the common Defence of those Countries have been undertaken, separately, without a previous mature deliberation in the Assemblies of the Estates, and without their unanimous Consent; or have been put in Execution by Your Majesty and my Self, as great Lords and Dukes of those Dukedoms.* Wherefore I promise my self from your Majesty's Generosity, that you will not proceed further in this Matter, without calling together an Assembly of the Estates, or our Approbation, according to Custom; it being certain, that hitherto the Estates have not Consented to any new Preparations to be made for the defence of those Countries, nor have made any suitable Provision for it, pursuant to the *Fundamental Constitutions* of those Dukedoms, and of the *Antient Hereditary Unions*, confirmed as such by the last Northern Peace. For which reason it is, that Your Majesty in consideration of this, will be pleased not to recede from the *Antient Custom*, and not burthen us with any *Novelties*, so, that we may be in a Condition, to transmit the Rights we possess in those Dukedoms, of a *joint Dominion*, without any blemish, to our Posterity.

When in the next following Year, King Christian V. had ordered an Encampment of an inconsiderable Body of Troops in those Parts, he first Communicated his Intention to the said Duke, who thereupon sent him the following Answer; dated at Gottorp the 19 August 1673.

*An answer
from the late
Duke of Hol-
stein to King
Christian V.*

We received Your Majesty's, dated at Copenhagen the 16 of August, by the yesterdays Post, in which you are pleased to tell us, that con- sider

considering the present dangerous juncture, you think it absolutely necessary, to take effectual Care, that your strong-holds in these Dukedoms may be secured against any sudden Attempts; and that therefore Your Majesty has ordered two thousand Horse and Foot to those Parts, whereof you thought fit to give Us timely Notice; As We give our Thanks to Your Majesty upon this Account, so We don't question but Care will be taken that an exact Discipline may be observed among them in their March, that no Detriment may accrue from thence to our Subjects.

In the Year 1674, the present Emperour being then Engaged in a War with *France*, desired leave from King *Christian V.* to make Levies in the two Dukedoms, upon which the said King asked the Concurrence of Duke *Christian Albert*, as appears from his Answer to the King, Dated the 21 of *March*, 1674, in which he returns Thanks to His Majesty; assuring him that, tho' no Application had been made to him upon that Subject from His Imperial Majesty, nevertheless if His Majesty of *Denmark* did approve of the Proposition, he should also be ready to comply with it.

The late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp's* Father and Predecessor, *Frederick*, has given so many instances of this acknowledgment, as are too many to be repeated here; some few will suffice for the present Argument:

There is a Letter from the said Duke *Frederick*, to *Christian IV.* then King of *Denmark*, dated the 24 of *December*, 1622, in which he proposes to His Majesty;

Duke Frederick's Letter to King Christian IV.

That he thought it absolutely Necessary, that some Levies both of Horse and Foot should be

made, the sooner the better; and that, if His Majesty approved of his Resolution, he desired he would give his Directions to his Governour of those Countries, accordingly.

*The King's
Answer.*

The King's Answer to the Duke, dated the 29th of *December* following, was: That he had sent Orders to his Governour, to hasten the said Levies with all possible Diligence, according to the Duke's desire.

But, before the Duke had receiv'd this Answer; he sent another Letter, relating to that Subject to the King, dated the 28th of *December*, 1622, in which he told the King:

*Another
Letter of that
Duke's upon
the same sub-
ject.*

That tho' he had taken Care to Summon the Nobility and other Inhabitants, to keep themselves ready to oppose any Invaders; and that, tho' His Majesty had sent his Orders to *Berent Petersen*, to hasten the Complement of his Company, and that with all possible speed; he had already imparted to His Majesty the Resolution he had taken of Levying a Troop of Horse; nevertheless, considering that a good Body of Foot would be more serviceable to them in Case of an Invasion, he was resolved to order (yet not without His Majesty's Consent,) another Company of Foot to be Levied at the Charge of the Country, under the Command of *John Schestede*; and that he had sent the Commission for His Majesty, if he pleased to Sign it.

The King sent his answer to the said Duke, dated 13 *Jan.* 1623. telling him that he had Consented to those Levies, and had Sign'd the Commission accordingly.

In the Year 1634, the 4th of *May*, an Alliance was concluded betwixt those two Princes, one Article of which was: That, according to Custom,

Custom, no Levies should be made without their Joint-Consent.

The same being renewed in the Year 1636, it was proposed to the Estates, Assembled at *Kiel*, both in the King and Duke's Name, to raise 2000 Men.

Thus King *Frederick III.* and the said Duke proposed with joint-Consent to the Estates, Assembled at *Kiel*, in the Year 1653, that it would be Necessary to make some Levies, besides what they had on foot already; the same was done at the Assembly of the Estates in the same place, in the Year 1655. And in the Year 1656, the Estates Assembled at *Rensburgh*, having Consented to some new Levies, the same were made, both in the King and Duke's Name.

Thus in the Year 1657, just before the beginning of that War between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which had almost proved Fatal to the first, it was propos'd to the Estates, then Assembled at *Flensburgh*, both in the King and Duke's Name, that it would be very requisite to increase their Forces, and to make, (besides the *Danish* Troops, that were already upon the Frontiers of the two Dukedoms) some new Levies, which was done accordingly, both in the King and Duke's Name.

But there being one most remarkable instance of the acknowledgment of Duke *Frederick*, concerning the Point in question, it ought not to be left past by in silence here.

It is to be observ'd, that in the Year 1633. *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*, sent Mr. *Robert Anstruth*, as his Envoy to the said Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, to represent to him the dangerous Condition the Protestants were reduced to at that time, and to concert Matters with him, how to relieve them from that Danger, that threat-

threatned their Total Destruction, unless by giving a Powerful Assistance to them; the Papishes were forced to grant them an Honourable Peace. Some means were also proposed, to endeavour the Restitution of the Elector Palatin; upon which the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* ordered the following Letter to be sent to King *Charles I.*

Duke Frederick's Letter to King Charles I.

His Highness highly Approves what has been proposed in Your Majesty's behalf, to attain the desired Peace; but, the Condition of the Dukedoms and the Provinces thereunto belonging being such, as not to permit His Highness to act in this, as well as in other Matters of Moment, separately from His *Danish* Majesty, contrary to the Tenour of the Antient Hereditary Contracts and perpetual Unions, made betwixt both Houses; by vertue of which every thing is to be Transacted, Deliberated and Decreed with Joint-Counsels; It is therefore, that His Highness will, with the first Opportunity, not only Communicate this Proposition to the King of *Denmark*, but also take it into serious deliberation; and, whatever Resolution shall be taken betwixt them upon this Account, shall be Communicated to His Majesty of *Great Britain*.

His Letter to King Christian IV. upon the same Subject.

Pursuant to which, the said Duke *Frederick* sent his Letter, dated at *Gottorp*, the 6th of Jan. 1634. to *Christian IV.* then King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, &c.

We thought our selves obliged to acquaint Your Majesty, that His *Britannick* Majesty did lately send to Us his Envoy Mr. *Robert Anstey*, who pursuant to his Orders received from the King his Master, has made several Propositions to Us both by way of Mouth and in Writing.

the Contents of which, together with our Answer, we have sent here enclosed to Your Majesty. We have all the reason in the World to believe, that the said Envoy will in a little time urge our Ministers, for a positive Resolution, and being sensible that *the Matter is of such a weight as concerns our mutual Interest*. We thought fit, to propose it to Your Majesty's Consideration, whether it might not be Convenient, to order our both sides Ministers, who are to meet and to revise some Statutes relating to our Provincial Courts of Judicature, immediately after the Fair of Kiel, to enter into Conferences upon the said Point, and to give Us their Opinion upon it, in order to be ratified by Us.

The Ministers of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*'s Reply to this, That the Answer sent to K. Charles I. being to be look't upon no otherwise than a Compliment, ought not to be alledged in their prejudice; but the Letter sent to King *Christian V.* upon that Account, and the ensuing Conferences seem to put it beyond all doubt.

We will now proceed to the fourth Argument alledged by the *Danes* upon this Head, viz. because it is contrary to the Antient Unions.

The several repeated Unions betwixt these two Houses, especially those in 1533. and 1623, are so Famous as to be past all Contradiction, by virtue of which those Dukedoms were inseparably joined both in point of Government and Interest; The Chief Matter objected by the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp* against this, is, that they consider those Unions no otherwise than Alliances made betwixt the Kingdom of *Denmark* and those Dukedoms, but not as Family-Contracts made betwixt the two Ducal

Fourth Argument alledged by the Danes.

The Duke of Holstein's objection against it.

Houses; To this the *Danes* Answer, that this Supposition is directly contrary to the Intention of the said Unions, which was the joint Defence of those Dukedoms, which could not be attained to without such a mutual Obligation; for which reason the said Unions were never till of late Years, consider'd as *federa Reciproca* only, but as *Sanctiones pragmatica*, and the fundamental Laws of those Dukedoms, pursuant to the express Letter of the said Unions, the constant practice of the former Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp*, and their own Confession; There is a very remarkable Letter relating to this head, written by the beforementioned *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, to *Christian IV.* then King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, &c. dated at *Gottorp* the 22^d of *June* 1635.

A Letter
written by
Duke *Frederick*
to King
Christian IV.
upon this
head.

As to what relates to Us, we being sufficiently convinced by the express Letter of the Unions; That not only the *Contrahentes* and *Pacifices*, but likewise their *Posterity* is obliged to the performance of them, we are not only resolved to adhere to them (with the help of God) inviolably as long as we live, but likewise our *Successors* are oblig'd to do the same. Neither do We in the least question, but Your Majesty will make a suitable Return, in concurring with Us in the same, as often as occasion shall require, in hopes that the due observance of those fundamental Constitutions, made for the joint Interest and Welfare of these Dukedoms, will for the future, as it has done heretofore, tend to our mutual Benefit.

It is evident both out of the preceding, and several others of the beforementioned Letters, how often the Dukes have had recourse to the words of those Unions, when they thought themselves injured in any thing that related to

the common Defence of those Countries; and there are not wanting Instances, when they have received actual Relief from the Kings of *Denmark* as Dukes of *Holstein*, not only in Case of an Invasion, but also upon the Account of other Dangers; of which there was a notable Example in the Year 1623. When the Marsh Lands belonging to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, being overflown with Water, the Duke claim'd Assistance from the King of *Denmark* as Duke of *Holstein*, and that he should bear his Share in the Loss and repairing the Damages sustain'd, by vertue of the Antient Unions. And how is it possible, say the *Danes*, that since, according to the Confession of the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp*, these two Dukedoms, notwithstanding the division betwixt those two Houses, remain one inseparable Body, they should not be oblig'd to a mutual concurrence in their common defence.

That those Unions are made betwixt the Kings of *Denmark* and the Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp*, as the first are Dukes, is confirmed by the Constitution of that Court, call'd the Court of *Ausfregen*, in which, not only such Differences as have happened betwixt the Kings of *Denmark* and Dukes of *Holstein Gottorp*, as the first were Kings, but also, as they were Dukes, have been decided.

Thus a difference being arisen in the Year 1559, betwixt those two Houses, concerning some Marshlands, situate betwixt *Tundern* and *Flenburgh*; and in the Year 1565, concerning the Limits between the two Dukes, *John* and *Adolph*, the same were determined by this Court.

The Court
for determin-
ing the differ-
ence betwixt
the two
Princes.

In the Year 1580, there happened a remarkable Difference betwixt *Frederick II.* King of Denmark and *Adolph* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, concerning the Inheritance of the deceased Duke *John*; upon which, some of their Ministers were deputed with Joint-Consent, to examine, and endeavour to adjust this Point; but being not able to agree in the Matter, it was judged convenient, with both sides Approbation, to refer the Whole to the decision of their respective Kinsmen, viz. to the then Elector of Saxony, *Ulrick* Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and *William* Langrave of *Hesse*. Pursuant to which Agreement, the said Princes sent their Deputies to *Hadersleben*, who in conjunction with the Danish and *Holstein* Ministers, re-assumed the Conferences on the 24th of June, 1681, and brought the same to a happy Conclusion on the 12th of August next following.

Duke *Frederick's* Letter upon this subject.

Thus, in the Year 1632, when King *Christian IV.* had begun to erect a Fort, which was afterwards called *Christianspruce*, without the Consent of *Frederick*, then Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, he thinking himself aggrieved in this Point, made his Appeal to the said Court, constituted by virtue of the antient Unions, as appears by his Letter, written to the said King *Christian IV.* dated at *Gottorp* the 20th of July, 1632.

I hope Your Majesty will not refuse to desist from the said Fortification, till the Arguments and Rights of both sides may be examined and composed, according to the true Meaning of the antient, and since renewed Unions betwixt the Crown of Denmark and our Ancestors; or by our both sides Ministers, deputed for that Purpose; or, if that should not succeed, by the definitive

finite Sentence of an Umpire; pursuant to the antient Custom and Constitutions, founded upon Equity.

It will not be beyond our purpose to insert here the Chief heads of the Transactions which happened betwixt the King of *Denmark* and the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, *Christian Albert*, in a Case, concerning the division of some Limits near *Lif* and *Silt*, the Rights of some Oyster-Pits, and other Matters of no small Consequence; forasmuch as they shew the manner of of Proceeding in this Court, by the said Duke's own Confession.

They deputed an equal Number of their Ministers, who being released from their Oath of Fidelity, had full Power granted them by virtue of a Patent, dated the 5th of *November*, 1667, to examine, debate, and decide the Matter in Question, and, in case of a Parity of Votes, to appoint an Umpire for the decision of the Matter.

The manner of proceeding in this Court.

Pursuant to which the Conferences were opened in the Year 1668, in the City of *Tundern*, by reason of the nearness of that Place, to those in question, (the City of *Coldingen* being otherwise appointed by the Antient Constitutions, for this Court to Sit in) where the Differences being carefully examined and referred to the determination of those Deputies, their Votes were found equal, so, that with mutual Consent it was agreed to leave the final determination of it to an Umpire. In reference of which the late Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, *Christian Albert*, writ the following Letter to *Frederick III.* King of *Denmark*, dated at *Gottorp* the 31 of *October*, 1668.

Your

A Letter
of Duke Friederick to the
King of Denmark concerning the
Empire.

Your Majesty has been doubtless informed how the Matter under debate of our both sides Commissioners at *Tundern*, must, (by reason of the equality of their Votes,) be referr'd to the Arbitration of an Umpire. It is evident from our Records, that in such Cases as this, whenever any Princes have been Chosen for the decision of Differences arisen between these two Houses, they used always, after they had taken a full Information of the whole Matter in question, to depute three of their Ministers, fitly qualified for so Great a Trust, who, after mature deliberation, were to give their definitive Sentence, by the Majority of Votes. This has been very wisely instituted by our Ancestors, who were the Authors of the *Ancient Unions*; and did not think it reasonable that both Your Majesty's and our Rights should depend on the Judgment only of a single Person, but that a certain number of Delegates should be appointed by the Umpire, instructed with a sufficient Authority, to examin the Merits of the Cause on both sides, and after a mature deliberation, to proceed to Judgment, without any Respect to Persons. Thus in the Year 1576, the then Elector of *Saxony*, being agreed upon for an Umpire, he deputed *Volekmar Van Benigb*, the then Judge of the High Court of Judicature at *Leipzig*; *John Van Seidlitz*, Governour of *Thuringia*, and *Veit Winsheimb*, a Professor of the Law in the University of *Wittenbergh*, who in the same Year, by the Majority of Votes, decided the Differences in Hand. Being therefore fully convinced that no private Person can be a Competent Judge of those Differences, but that they ought to be submitted to the decision of such Delegates as

are impowred with a sufficient Authority by the Umpire, We have thought fit to propose to Your Majesty on our side the Administrator of *Magdeburgh*, or Duke *Ernest of Weymar Gotha*, leaving it to Your Majesty to propose on Your side, whom you shall Judge most Convenient.

But because both Parties Insisted upon their proposal, the Matter did remain undecided for that time.

There are three other Letters written by the same Duke upon the Account of this Court of *Austragen*, to King *Frederick III.* of which we will give you the Contents as far as they have any relation to this Head.

*Another
Letter from
that Duke
upon the
same subject.*

The first is dated at *Gottorp* the 14th of September, 1665.

It could not but be highly acceptable to us, when we understood that Your Majesty had resolved to put an end to those Differences, which have been depending for a considerable time, betwixt those two Houses, and for that purpose had appointed six *Assessors* on Your side, pursuant to the Constitution of the inseparable Unions of both Houses; and, We sincerely declare to Your Majesty, that We aim at nothing more, than that an end may be put those differences, to our both sides Satisfaction; Our Intention being to insist upon nothing, but what can plainly be proved to belong to Us; not doubting, but, that Your Majesty's Intention in this, as well as in all other Actions of Your Life, will be conformable to what Justice and Reason shall allow of. It is therefore that We thankfully accept of Your Majesty's Offer, desiring, that you would be pleased to send Us the Names of the said *Assessors*, and what Time and Place is to

be appointed for their Meeting; as likewise to propose in Your behalf an Umpire, in case of equality of Votes. I thought it likewise absolutely requisite to put Your Majesty in mind, that, if any of those Assessors chosen by both Parties should be under any Tie of Allegiance, either as Ministers or Subjects to either of Us, they ought not only to be released of the said Allegiance, but also to be obliged by an Oath, to decide the Matter according to Justice, and, if the Matters cannot be brought to an Accommodation, to give Judgment according to the best of their Knowledge. So recommending Your Majesty to God's Protection, &c.

*This second
Letter relating
to this
subject.*

The second Letter dated at Gottorp, the 16th of October, 1665. is as follows:

We have understood with a great deal of Satisfaction out of Your Majesty's Answer to Ours, dated at Copenhagen the 10th of this Month, that you have appointed the Arbitrators on your side, for the Accommodating, or if that should not succeed, the determining the Differences in hand, and that they are to meet accordingly on the 14th of the next Month of November, in Your City of Coldingen; For which reason also, We have appointed as our Commillioners, Paul Rantzau of Boetcamp, Detlof Ablefelt of Heltigenstedt, John Adolph Kielman of Sarrupholm, Hans Henry Kielman, Hans Rantzau of Potloes, and Dr. Cramer, who are to meet at the appointed time and place, in order to endeavour to put an end to the Matter in question.

*This third
Letter*

The third Letter is dated at Gottorp the 10th of February, 1666.

Out of Your Majesty's Letter, dated the 6th of Febr. at *Copenhagen*, which was delivered to Us yesterday, We understand, that your Intention is to have a certain Term prefixed for the determining the Differences about the *Divident*, and some other Matters in question. We thankfully acknowledge Your Majesty's Care, not questioning, but that tho' hitherto, for weighty Reasons, no great Progress has been made in the Matter, yet that the Endeavours of our both sides Commissioners at *Coldingen*, will before long come to such an issue, as may fully restore the good Understanding that has always been betwixt our Families: Wherefore We desire Your Majesty, that in case any grievances are left to be decided, to communicate them to Us, that no Seeds of discords may remain hereafter; We will take effectual Care, that, the same shall, after due Examination, be communicated to the Commissioners at *Coldingen*, together with our Instructions against the prefixed time, being the 20th of *March*, by which means We hope the Differences about the *Divident*, as well as other Grievances may be redress'd, and the whole Matter brought to a happy Conclusion.

The Minsters of *Holstein Gottorp* Alledge in opposition to this, that in the Year 1672, when the late Duke *Christian Albert*, urged the late King of *Denmark*, *Christian V.* to have the Differences arisen betwixt them, concerning the investiture and some other Matters relating to the Contributions, determined by this Court of the *Austregen*, His Majesty refused the same, as is manifest from His Letter written to the said Duke upon this Subject, dated the 30th of *Jan.* 1679. These are his Words: Much

King Chri-
stian V's Let-
ter to the
Duke of Hol-
stein, 1659.

Much less can the Union be extended thus far as to decide the Investiture and Vassalage it self; because these are the very Foundation of all the Antient Contracts, and therefore destroy the Union it self; in which such differences are to be decided, as may arise from the nearness and intermixture of the Territories, of both Houses. Besides, that it is a very unusual thing among Sovereigns, to submit such Matters as Concern their Royal Prerogatives, to the decision of others, as being inconsistent with the Nature of their Sovereignty; neither is there any instance to be given, of such a Decision.

To this the *Danes* Reply, that the Chief thing then in question being the Investiture and Vassalage of the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, the same did not fall under the Cognisance of this *Court of Unions*, the same being expressely excepted in the *Union Contract*, made in the Year 1533. In Answer to the rest, they say, that there being at that time an open Rupture betwixt the King and the Duke, the first did not think himself obliged to refer himself to the Antient Contracts and Unions; But the same being since restored and confirmed as well by the Peace of *Fountain-Bleau* as that of *Altena*; and all what past during this Rupture, being thereby buried in Oblivion, both sides are now obliged to remain steadfast to the said Family-Contracts, unless they will Act contrary to the true intent of the said Treaties.

Plea of the
Duke's Party
for the Jus ar-
morum.

The Partizans of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* do further Plead the *Jus armorum*, and consequently the Power of fortifying Places, and Garrisoning the same, from the very nature of

of Sovereignty; Would it not, say they, imply an Absurdity for the Duke to be invested with the Sovereignty, and all Rights and Prerogatives thereunto belonging (which was actually done in the Treaties of *Roskilt* and *Copenhagen*) and at the same time to have the actual exercise of one of the Chief Acts of Sovereignty deny'd him? This would be no more than a Shadow without Substance, and a bare Title to amuse the World.

To this the *Danes* reply, that there being nothing more obvious, than that several Princes of *Europe*, who are called, Sovereigns, and are actually such, nevertheless have no power to exercise all and every Act of Sovereignty without Limitation, they cannot sufficiently admire, how the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp* should look upon this Restriction as a Paradox; What, say they, can a Prince not be a Sovereign, that is engag'd in, and limited by certain Contracts made with another Prince? Who can question the Sovereignty of each particular Province of the *United Netherlands*? Nevertheless by Virtue of their Union and fundamental Contracts, they are obliged to make no Alliances, Peace or War, without Joint-Advice and Consent. It is taken for granted, that neither the Emperor nor the *French King* think themselves impaired in their Sovereignities, because by the Treaties of *Munster* and *Reswick* (as especially appears from the 18, 20, and 25 of the last) they are limited in their Prerogatives of Fortifying places; Besides, that there are several Instances of Family Contracts amongst the Princes of the Empire, who think themselves not a Jot the worse upon that account. At that rate

The Danes
Reply.

rate they must call in question the Sovereignty of the *Grand Seignor* himself, because in the several Treaties, but especially in that of the year 1664, made with His Imperial Majesty, he has for ever renounced his Right of fortifying *Zeckembeyer*, and the Fort near *Canisba*.

Another Argument made use of by the Duke of *Holstein's* Party, is, that it cannot but be look'd upon as an unreasonable thing, for any Body to be debarr'd of the Priviledge of disposing and managing his own Inheritance as he thinks most convenient, which in effect, the King of *Denmark* pretends to do.

This Argument, reply the *Danes*, answers it self, it being evident that the King and Duke are Joint-Lords of those Dukedoms; and the Nature of all Things in joint-Possession being such, as not to admit of being disposed of at the Pleasure of one of the Parties; Besides, that it is a Mistake that a Man may act in his own Inheritance as he pleases, it being evident that he ought to take care not to annoy his Neighbours; and the most Potent and Sovereign Princes themselves are always very cautious in giving offence, nay even in creating a Jealousy in their neighbouring Nations.

It is beyond all Contradiction that the Treaties of *Rosbilit* and *Copenhagen*, from whence the Duke derives his Sovereignty, have not granted the same to him without Restriction, as is evident from the Patent granted to the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, upon the account of this Sovereignty, by King *Frederick III.* in the year 1658, in which are these following Conditions.

1. That the Nobility, Estates and Cities, nay all the Subjects shall be inviolably maintain'd in the

the possession of their Lands and Goods; as likewise in their Rights, Liberties and Privileges, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil.

Conditions relating to the Sovereignty of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

2. That neither any considerable part, or the whole Share of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, shall be alienated to the Prejudice of the Kings of *Denmark*, but shall remain in the same State it is now, as long as there are any Male Heirs living of Duke *Frederick* of *Holstein Gottorp*.

3. That this Grant shall not in any wise be prejudicial to the former Contracts; but especially to the *antient inseparable Union*, which in all its Points and Clauses (except what has been agreed upon concerning the remission of the Investiture) shall remain in full force and vigour.

But the main Stress of the Argument made use of by the Duke's Ministers to back their separate *Jus Armorum*, is taken from the Interpretation of the second Article of the Treaty of *Altena*, made in the Year 1689; In which it being express'd, That His Majesty of *Denmark* shall restore to the Duke his Sovereignty, with the

Contract about the Interpretation of the second Article of the Treaty of Altena.

Rights of raising Money, making Leagues and Alliances, of building and possessing Fortifications, &c. they infer from thence, that the Duke is thereby invested with an absolute Power, in relation to those Matters therein mentioned, without any previous Communication with the King of *Denmark*.

In Answer to this, it is alledged on the *Danish* side, That the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp* have extorted an Interpretation of the said Article, meerly to serve their own Turn; it being evident from the Words; His Majesty of *Denmark*

The Danes
Answer to
them.

mark shall restore to the Duke, &c. that thereby he had not the least granted him of any other Power, but what he was possess'd of before and after the Treaties of Westphalia and of the North, till the Year 1675; as likewise by the Treaty of Fountain Bleau, as the exprels Words of the said Article make it plainly appear; which Treaties are also confirmed by the same Article. Now, say the *Danes*, it is certain that by neither of those Treaties a separate *Jus Armorum* was granted to the Duke, as is evident from the Contents of them, beforementioned, by the Practice observed betwixt the two Houses since that time, before things came to a Rupture; and by the repeated Confessions and Acknowledgment of both sides, some of which have been inserted before: For which Reason alio, effectual Care has been taken in all the beforementioned Treaties, to insert a Clause for the Confirmation of the *Family-Compacts* and *Antient Unions*, made betwixt the two Houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*, as may be seen, especially in the Treaty of *Altena*, the fifth Article of which, is as follows:

As to what relates to
the Treaty of
Altena.

As to what relates to *Unions*, *Family-Contracts*, and other Agreements made to the Year 1675; as also the *Communion* and other Customs used to that Day, shall remain in force, no less, than what had been expressly and literally determined, in relation to this Matter by the Treaties of *Westphalia*, of the *North*, and of *Fountain-Bleau*, &c.

These words give us, say the *Danes*, so plain an Interpretation of what has been mentioned in the second Article of the same Treaty, concerning the Duke's Sovereignty, that it needs no further Answer; the *Unions*, *Communion* and *Family-Contracts*,

tracts, being expressly preserved in their full vigour by this as well as the preceding Treaties of *Westphalia*, of the *North*, and *Fountain-Bleau*, therein mentioned.

The infraction made by the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* upon the Rights of the late King of *Denmark*, *Christian V.* by receiving Foreigners into those Dukedoms, at a time, when the State of the King's Health was in an almost desperate Condition, seems to be taken notice of in favour of the *Danes* by the Ministers Mediators of *Pinnenbergh*, who upon that account writ a Letter to the said Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, dated the 5th of *August*, old Style, 1699, in the following terms:

The Letters of the Ministers Mediators to the Duke of Holstein.

We the Ministers Mediators, have beyond all hopes, and to our great Dissatisfaction understood, that Your Highness has not only received into those Dukedoms a certain Number of *Sveedish* Troops from *Wismar* and the *Dutchy of Bremen*; but also makes further Preparations to erect some Forts, and that in such Places, where never were any before; Hitherto it is only by Fame and some private Letters, that We are informed of those things; For Mr. *Wedderkop*, Your Highness's Privy Councillour, did not think it worth his while, to send an Answer to a Letter, which I (the Court of *Eck*) writ to him upon this Subject, about a Week ago, or to give Us the least notice of it otherwise, besides what he declared to the Ministers Mediators in general, pursuant to the Instructions he received (as he told us) from Your Highness; tho' at the same time this might very conveniently have been done, in Honour and Respect to the Mediators: We don't at this time

pretend to call in question Your Highnesses *Jus Armorum*, and whatever other Rights may belong to you; nevertheless We cannot but put you in mind, that the respective Princes Mediators, our Principals, have declared several times, both at the opening of the Conferences, and since that time, that Your Highness should not suffer any Prejudice in his legal Rights, by Suspending the Exercise thereof for the present; which also you did accept of, as is evident from the Resolution taken by You at the Intercession made in that behalf, to stop the same for the Love of Peace, and to facilitate the Conclusion of the Treaty. We are well satisfied, that the Princes Mediators, who have empower'd Us, will be very well pleased to see Your Highness persist in the same Sentiment, which will free them from the apprehension, which otherwise they may take at this Enterprize. It is for this Reason, that We the Ministers Mediators, think our selves obliged both in point of Conscience, and of the Trust reposed in Us, and to convince the World, that we have done hitherto, and continue to act with all possible Application for the Preservation of the publick Tranquility; and that We will not be answerable for the ill Consequences, which may attend it; and therefore request Your Highness with all due Respect, that you would be pleased, to send back thote *Swedish* Forces, which you have received into those Dukedoms, contrary, not only to the Constitutions of the Empire, by causing them to march through the Territories of some of the Princes and States of the Empire, without their knowledge; but also to the no small Prejudice of His Majesty of Denmark, who thereupon has made his Complaints

plaints to Us, because these Troops did pass thro' several Balliages, which are under your Joint-Dominion; and that for the rest, Your Highness will likewise be pleased to leave things in Suspence, till such time, that we have received the Answers we expect from our Principals, &c.

But it is time to proceed to the Second proposition made by King *Christian V.* to the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, which concerned the renewing of the Antient Unions; This was at first positively denied by the Dukes, but upon further Consideration comply'd with, but under this Restriction, that it should be done as soon as the Duke had received Satisfaction concerning certain Points, which he said, were not executed according to the Tenour of the Treaty of *Alena*. The pretensions made upon this Account consists Chiefly in this, that the Duke of *Holstein* demands Restitution to be made to several of his Ministers of what had been taken from them before, and the Restitution of the Lordship of *Gods-Gift* (*Gods Gabe*) according to the expresse words of the said Treaty.

The second Proposition concerning the Renewing of the Unions.

Unto this the *Danes* Answer, that they have Contributed all what could be expected from them, towards the Execution of the Treaty of *Alena*; That in relation to the Satisfaction due to the Ministers of *Holstein Gottorp*, they had assign'd to them several real Debts, due from the Duke their Master to the King of *Denmark*, which they having accepted of at that time, it was their own Fault, if this Satisfaction did not prove to their Content.

The Danish Argument upon this Head.

As to the Second; which Concerns the Seat, called, *Gods Gabe*, they don't in the least deny, but, that the same has been expressly stipulated to be restored to His Highness, which would have been put in Execution accordingly, if there were not a certain Clause inserted in the Article of the said Treatise, by vertue of which, the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, obliges himself to withdraw his Action which he had laid against the House of *Holstein Ploen* in the Imperial Court. This Action concern'd Chiefly the annulling of certain Contracts, made some time before with the House of *Holstein Ploen*, by which the last was entitled to the Possession of the beforementioned Seat of *Gods Gabe*. And the same being since that time Surrendered by the House of *Ploen* to Duke *August* of *Norburgh*, the King of *Denmark*, could not but look upon it, as a very odd pretence, to desire that the said Duke of *Norburgh* should be put out of Possession, in order to have it restored again by the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*.

This it was that induced the late Duke of that Name, not to insist upon the Restitution of the said Lordship, but, when after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Altera*, Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to terminate by an Amicable Composition, some inconsiderable Differences yet remaining betwixt *Denmark* and *Holstein Gottorp*; the Duke would not so much as have it mentioned among the rest, only desiring His Majesty, to prevail by His Authority with the Duke of *Norburgh*, thus far, as to come in Person to His Court at *Gottorp*, and to pay him some Acknowledgment upon that Score, which was done accordingly by the said Duke of *Norburgh*. AC-

Accordingly this Point having never been call'd in question since, as long as the late Duke *Christian Albert* lived, neither could it be done under any legal Pretence, for the Reasons beforementioned, the King of *Denmark* look'd upon this Matter to be past all further Contest.

Notwithstanding which, this Point being closely insisted upon by the Ministers of the present Duke, the King of *Denmark*, to remove any Obstacle that might retard the renewing of the said Unions, sent these following orders to his Ministers.

*The King of
Denmark's
Declaration
upon this
Head.*

We have received Yours, out of which we see, what is pass'd betwixt You and the Ministers of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, on the Account of the present Differences; and, that the Duke has at last consented to the renewing of the Unions, provided we on our side will give him Satisfaction concerning certain Points, which, they pretend, are to be terminated as yet, pursuant to the Treaty of *Altena*, &c.

As to what relates to the renewing of the Unions, the Duke ought to have explain'd himself more at large upon that Account, pursuant to the Tenour of that perpetual Union, made in the Year 1623. But, if he remains resolv'd to insist upon that Point, it would be convenient for you to Demand an Exact Account of those Matters, which they pretend to upon that score; forasmuch as the Points in question, of which they make so much noise, concern only the indemnifying the Ministers of *Gottorp*, for what they have suffer'd by the preceding Confiscations, and the Lordship of *Gods*

K 1

Gift;

Gift; truly things of very little Consequence: But whatever it be, to shew to all disinterested Persons, how far we are inclined to Consent to any thing the Duke in reason can ask; and how desirous we are to maintain the Antient Ties and good Correspondence established and confirmed betwixt our two Houses, We order you, to declare to the Ministers of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, That, if their Master will Engage himself to renew the Union made in the Year 1623, according to the express Words of that Treaty, and the preceding Unions, that then We will immediately give full Satisfaction as to those Points, which are not as yet put in Execution by vertue of the Treaty of *Altena*; and, if any further Difficulties should arise, we will leave them to the determination of such Commissioners as shall be appointed by Us on both sides, for the composing of them, according to the Meaning and Rules prescrib'd in the Antient Unions, &c.

From which Concession the *Danes* evince, That the Duke of *Holstein* had no further reason to insist upon that Exception, unless it were either quite to avoid, or at least to delay the renewing of the said Unions.

But it is time for us to touch a little also upon the third Demand, which was the Communication of the late Duke *Christian Albert's* Testament.

This was interpreted by the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, as an infringement upon his Sovereign Prerogatives, as may be seen from his Letter, of which we have given you the Copy before; Whereas the *Danish* Ministers alledge,

ledge, That the King of *Denmark* had no other design in it, than to know (as he ought to do) whether the present Duke *Frederick* was constituted sole Heir in the Ducal Share of *Sleswick*; or whether his Brother *Christian* had some joint or separate Interest in the same? The more because the *Jus Primogenitura* being not introduced in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, and there being no Alteration made as to this Point, by virtue of the Patent concerning the remission of the Vassalage of that Dukedom; The King, say the *Danes*, had all the reason in the world to demand to be satisfied in this Point, it being absolutely requisite, that in so nice a Juncture as this, (when they were in Treaty concerning the Ceremonies and other Matters relating to the Homage) the King should know, who it was that was to have the Joint-Administration with him in the Government of those Dukedoms; it was absolutely necessary, say they, to enquire into this Point, in order to be fully satisfied, whether the said Duke *Frederick* alone, or his Brother *Christian* was to come in as a third Person in the *Communion* establish'd betwixt those Houses; especially, since there are not wanting Instances, that such a Division has been made in the said Dukedom.

The Danish
Argument
upon this
Head.

I am apt to believe, I have by this time almost tired the Reader's Patience with the rehearsal of those Disputes, which from a small beginning, have by degrees, been carried on to that height, that in all appearance the decision of them will be made by the Sword, rather than by force of Argument: The flame of the War having already begun to spread it self thro' several

veral Parts of the North, by the Irruption made by the King of *Poland* into *Livonia*, and the attacks upon the Forts erected by the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, by the *Danes*; so that I will conclude this Chapter with giving you a true Copy of the Demands made by the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, at the Treaty of *Altena*, together with an authentick Translation of the Articles of the said Treaty, as they were laid before the Honourable House of Commons, this last Sessions of Parliament.

The DEMANDS made by His Highness CHRISTIAN ALBERT, Duke of Holstein Gottorp, presented to the Ministers Mediators, Assembled at Altena, for the Composing the Differences, arisen betwixt His Majesty of Denmark and the said Duke.

I.

THAT the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, with the Country, call'd *Gods-Gift*, and its Dependencies, shall be restored in the same Condition, wherein they were in the Year 1674, and when they were taken.

II.

THAT the Island of *Fehmeryen* shall be surrendred, and the Balliages of *Trittau*, *Trembsattel* and *Steenhurst*, shall be surrendred without Money, or any Pretension.

III.

THAT the Peace between the two Northern Crowns, shall remain entire; that His Highness of *Holstein* shall enjoy all Rights and Priviledges of Sovereignty, and particularly, that of *Collectandi & Fæderum*.

IV. THAT

IV.

THAT tho' His Highness may lay a Claim to the Contributions levied, which amount to above 100 Tuns of Gold, he will be satisfied with a General Collection, which shall be made in the two Principalities, for building a Fort in the most necessary and convenient Situation, and for the Payment of 500000 Rixdollars at three Payments.

V.

His Highness claims, that the Ammunition and the hundred Pieces of Cannon that were in the Castle of *Tommigen*, when it was demolished, shall be restored him,

VI.

THAT the Popular Government be abolished.

VII.

THAT not only the Emperour and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, shall be Guarantees of the Treaty in the Quality of Mediators, but the rest of the Members of the Empire, and in particular, the Circles of the *Lower-Saxony*, the House of *Lunenburg*, and the King of *Sweden*.

VIII.

THAT all other Demands shall be justly Examined; and that if the Conditions are not accepted within a Month, His Highness will be no longer bound to them,

Upon

Upon which, on the 20th of the next ensuing June, the following Articles were agreed upon.

An Authentick Translation of the Articles of the Treaty of Altena, made in the Year 1689, as it was laid before the Honourable House of Commons, this last Sessions of Parliament, by His Majesty's special Command.

BE it known to all, by what means the great Controversies, which have been a long time between His Royal Majesty of Denmark and Norway, and His Highness the Duke of Holstein Sleswick, by the Earnest Mediation of His Imperial Majesty, and Their Electoral Highnesses of Saxony and Brandenburg, have been Composed and for ever Abolished upon the following Conditions.

I.

THAT there shall be a general Amnesty, and a perpetual Oblivion of all that hath been hitherto undertaken on both Sides, done or acted by each or other Party, their Ministers, Subjects or Adherents; None of either Side shall be called to an Account, nor shall any body be brought into Danger or Charge for it; but an Eternal and Indissoluble Friendship and Union shall hereby be restored and established.

blished betwixt His Royal Majesty of *Denmark* and *Norway*, His Heirs and Successors in His Kingdoms, and His Highness the Duke of *Holstein Sleswick*, and His Successors.

II.

His Royal Majesty of *Denmark* and *Norway*, shall Restore to His Ducal Highness all His said Highnesses Dominions, Lands, Islands and Goods, but specially the Lordship of *Gods Gabe*, together with the Sovereignty of the same Royalties, Rights of raising Monies, making Leagues and Alliances of Building and Possessing Fortifications: In fine, all those Rights and Prerogatives whatsoever, that His Highness did Hold and Enjoy before and after the Treaties of *Westphalia*, and of the *North*, to the Year 1675. As likewise whatever His Highness may Claim by the Pacifications of *Fountain-Bleau*, the Conditions and Contents of which Treaties are confirmed hereby, and also his Royal Majesty will Restore to His Highnesses Officers and Subjects, all their Goods and Debts.

III.

Whereas His Highness amongst other Demands, hath required that His Royal Majesty would free the Island of *Fehmern*, together with the Governments of *Steinhurst*, *Trembuttel* and *Trittau* from a Mortgage, pay that Summ of Money they are Engaged for, and restore them without any Charge to His Highness; His Royal Majesty, to give the greater Mark of His Favour to His Highness, as being nearly

ly related to him in Blood and Affinity, doth give up the Mortgage, and remit the Action he hath against the Government of *Trittau*, and Restores it with all its Dependencies; but as to what concerns the Island of *Fehmern*, and the Governments of *Trembsittel* and *Steenburst*, these being not in the Hands of His Majesty, but of His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark; His Imperial Majesty and Their Electoral Highnesses of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, in Quality of Mediators for composing these Differences, to the End, that Peace and Tranquility may the better be established and settled in the Northern Kingdoms, and the Circle of *Lower Saxony*, it being of great Importance to the Publick Good, that it should subsist inviolably, they have undertaken to find out such Means to make Satisfaction to His Royal Highness for that Sum of Money, for which he holds those Places, without any Charge or Prejudice to His Royal Majesty; as likewise to obtain the Consent of His said Royal Highness: That the said Island and Governments be restored again to His Highness the Duke of *Holstein*, exempt and free from the Debt and Mortgage they formerly lay under.

IV.

On the other side, His Highness doth renounce all Actions and Pretensions he might have, not only against His Royal Majesty, for having detained His Dominions for some time, and enjoyed the Revenues thereof; but also doth release and wholly desist from those Proceedings he had obtained from the Imperial Chamber, against the House of Dukes of *Holstein Ploen*.

V.

As to what belongs to Unions, Family-Agreements, and other Conventions, made to the Year 1675; as also the Communion, the Custom used to that day shall remain in Force, no less than what hath been expressly and literally determined, in Relation to this Matter by the Treaties of *Westphalia*, of the *North*, and of *Fountain-Bleau*; and whatsoever remains and is unreceived of the Revenues of the Chamber or Contributions in His Highnesses Dominions, shall by no means be Demanded from His Royal Majesty.

VI.

They do remit other Grievances to be made up by a friendly Transaction, and if that doth not Succeed, they leave it to the Law, and neither Party shall undertake any thing by way of Force against what is above settled.

VII.

The Ratifications of this Agreement shall be Exchanged here at *Altena*, fourteen days after the Subscribing of it, and the Agreements shall immediately, or at furthest within eight Days after the Exchange, be strictly put in Execution, *Bona Fide*, and without Delay.

In Witness whereof two Copies of the same Tenour, Subscribed and Sealed, have been delivered to each Party. Done at *Altena*, the 20th day of *June*, in the Year 1689. CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Character of King Christian V. his Court ; with some other Matters relating to his Person, and the Royal Family.

THE good Qualities of this Prince were such as deserve to be rank'd amongst the best our Age has produced ; As the preceding Sheets do sufficiently convince us, that his whole Genius was bent upon Action, so even his Enemies cannot deny, but that in the execution of his Designs, he shew'd as much Personal *His Courage* Courage as could have been expected from a private Man. Of this he gave frequent demonstrations in his Wars with *Sweden*, when he always appeared at the Head of his Army's, and by his own Example animated them to doing well : In the Attack made upon the City *Hamborough*, he exposed his Person so near to the Enemies Shot, that several Persons of Note, who attended him, were slain by his side. There are few, I believe, who can deny, that his Conduct in that War, was answerable to his *His Conduct* Courage, the whole design against a too Potent neighbouring Enemy, being founded upon the deepest Reasons of State, the fruits of which *Denmark* might have reap'd to its great Advantage, if the *Dutch* by clapping up a separate Peace with *France* at *Nimeguen*, had not frustrated the Designs of their King.

His Affability. He was a Prince of singular Affability and good Nature, Mild and Gracious, without the least appearance of Pride, being both Beloved and Reverenc'd by his People, who, unanimously agree in this, that during the whole Course of his Reign, he never abused his Absolute Power; and such was his Affability, that even when he dined in Publick, he would sit down not only with his Queen, Children and Relations, but also with his Ministers and General Officers.

Religion. The most refined Politicians in these Parts, give him this Character, That he had as much Religion as was becoming a Prince, being Religious without being bigotted to his Clergy, whom, tho' he allowed to speak with all due Freedom in the Pulpits, and to correct the Vices of Persons, even of the first Quality, yet never admitted them into the Secrets of the Government. Of his Moderation in Point of Religion he has given several Instances, in permitting the *French* Protestants to build a Church at *Copenhagen*, and the *Roman Catholics* to erect a Chappel at *Gluckstadt*, things never known in *Denmark* since the Reformation; the *Lutherans* in the Northern Parts not allowing the Publick Exercise of any, but their own Religion.

He was Master of four Languages, to wit: The *High* and *Low Dutch*, and the *French*, besides his own; and tho' neither by his Genius he was inclining, nor by his Education had ever been improved in any particular Sort of Learning, yet as his War-like Temper made him love Fortifications, so he was as great Admirer of Geographical Delineations, and would with a great deal of Delight examine the De-
sign

ign of any Forts, to be erected in convenient Places.

He was not in the least Luxurious in his Meat and Drink; and if in his younger days he would now and then commit an Excess in the last, this was recompensed by his Moderation of late Years.

His Moderation.

The same might be observed in all his Diversions, which were either certain Progreſſes, which he used frequently to make into *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, or some of the adjacent Islands, or else Divertisements at his Country Seats: Every Summer he used to spend five or six Weeks at his Hunting-House of *Jagersborg*, situate near the Sea-side, not far from *Copenhagen*; Two Months more of the Summer, he commonly kept his Residence at *Fredericksburgh*, a most Magnificent Pallace, about twenty *English* Miles from *Copenhagen*; where the Court spent most of its time in Stag-hunting, and the King always allowed a great deal of Freedom to his Domesticks.

His Diversions.

At a certain Season, when the young Swans are grown up almost to the bigness of the old ones, Swan-hunting used to be his Pastime, which was performed by a good number of *Gondola's* or Small Boats, fill'd with Gentlemen and Ladies, who surrounding the Island in which the Swans abide, they used sometimes to kill several thousands of them with their Guns.

Some Intrigues he has been engaged in, but those were not very many, he having been a constant admirer of the Countess of *Lamsloe*, his Darling Mistress. Her Name was *Mrs. La Mothe*, the Daughter of a Physician at *Copenhagen*; The King having espy'd her accidentally

His Amours.

one day, as he pass'd by the House, he became so enamoured of her, that he could not rest satisfied till he got into the Possession of this Beautiful Creature, which he at last effected, by the Intercession of the young Lady's Mother, who considering that her deceased Husband had left her Children no considerable Fortune, prevailed with her Daughter, to overcome a Scruple, which now a days, by Custom, seems to become warrantable, for the Preferment of her Family.

His Natural
Children.

The King had two Natural Sons by her, both very handsome Gentlemen; the Eldest had the Revenue of the Post-Office settled upon him, and commanded a Regiment of Horse in *France*; The second being design'd for the Sea, has made several Voyages under the Tuition of certain Persons, in whom the King confided much. Their Mother he created Countess of *Lamsoe*, which Title, she received from an Island of that Name he bestowed upon her; besides which, he allotted her a Pension of a thousand Pounds per Month.

His Mini-
sters of State.

His Ministers, who had the Chief Management of all Affairs of Moment, were (after the Disgrace of *Greiffensfelt*;) Count *Gulden Lewe*, Natural Brother to the King, and Vice-Roy of *Norway*, who has the Reputation of one of the finest Gentlemen in *Denmark*; having formerly been Ambassadour from that Crown to King *Charles II.* who was so Charm'd with his Conversation, that during the time of his Residence in *England*, he made him the constant Partner of his Pleasures.

The second; Count *Ravenclaw*, his Great Hunt-Master, he is a Native of *Holstein*, who bore

bore both the Title and Toils of the Chief Ministry with a great deal of Applause, being a Person very Affable, and of easy access.

Thirdly, The Baron *Juel*, Brother to the *Danish* Admiral of the same Name, being descended from an antient Noble Family in *Denmark*.

The fourth, Mounſieur *Ehrcaſhilt* a German by Birth, who having been Taught the first rudiments of Policy, by that Famous Monsieur *Teron*, whom we have mentioned before to have been Ambaſſadour to both the Northern Crowns, has since been employed in the Management of Matters of the greatest Moment, by the late King of *Denmark*, his constant Residence having been of late Years in the City of *Hamborough*; which being a Place situate the most Conveniently in *Europe* for Correspondence, and to keep a watchful Eye over the Transactions of the neighbouring *German* Princes, he was entrusted with that Province.

The Management of the Treasury was formerly committed to one Mr. *Branet*, but his Shoulders being not strong enough for the burthen of so weighty an Affair, he was dismissed from that Employment, and one Monsieur *Plaffen* substituted in his Place; He is a Native of the Country of *Meclenburgh* in *Germany*, and has deservedly acquired the Character of the ablest Manager of the Finances in *Denmark*; it being certain, that whereas the Kings Treasury was several Millions of Crowns in Debt, he has effectually Redress'd the embroil'd State of the Finances, to such a degree, as that the King's Credit is fully recovered both at Home and Abroad; besides that, he is Master of four or five Languages, and among them of the *Eng-*
lish.

lish, having lived several Years in this Kingdom, in the Service of Prince George of Denmark.

His Favourite.

But his Principal Favourite was one Mr. Knut, a *Mecklenburgher* by Birth, who, as he was bred up with the King, and had been the constant Confident and Companion of his Pleasures, so he kept the first Rank in his Favour to his dying day, and employed most of his Time, rather in managing the King's Person, than in publick Affairs.

His General Officers.

His Chief General Officers were the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, and Count *Wedel*, Field Marshals; Lieutenant Generals, Count *Guldenlewe*, Vice-Roy of *Normay*; The Duke of *Wirttenbergh*; Monsieur *Shacht Plessen*, and *Dumery*.

But before we conclude this Chapter, we must also speak something concerning the Royal Family.

The Character of the Queen.

We have told you before, that he Married the Lady *Charlotta Amalia*, Sister to the present *Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*; She is a most Excellent Person, in Respect of Her Great Qualifications, both of Body and Mind; She is Admirably Fair, and Extraordinary well Shap'd, Her Complexion being a perfect mixture of *Flegmatick* and *Sanguin*; But the Excellencies of Her Mind far surpass those of Her Body, being Engaging, Affable, and free to the Highest Degree; She has given a thousand Instances of Her Prudent Conduct; especially in protecting the *French* Protestants; and others who had thrown themselves under Her Protection; She being always look'd upon by the whole Kingdom, as the common Refuge of People in Distress.

The King had five Children by Her; to wit: Four Princes and one Princess; The Eldest was *Frederick*, who some Months ago has succeeded him in the Throne, being now about seven or eight and twenty Years of Age.

The Second was Prince *Christian*, of a very robust Constitution, and much addicted to Hunting and War-like Exercises; he died some years ago in his Travels, at *Augsburgh* in *Germany*. *His Children.*

The Third was called *Charles*, being now about sixteen; and the Fourth, *William*, about thirteen years of Age.

The Princess his only Daughter is look't upon as the greatest Beauty of the North; she was Contracted to the Electoral Prince of *Saxony*, but the Match was broke off.

From what has been said, it is evident, that the late King *Christian V.* was a Prince endow'd with all the Qualifications belonging to a Person of so Eminent a Rank; For whereas he found the Kingdom in a very declining Condition, by reason of the late unfortunate War with *Sweden*; He restored, in some measure, its decayed Estate, by providing for the Security of its Frontiers: The Citadel in the Isle of *Bornholm*, commanding the Road of *Roena*, towards the *Swedish* Dominions, was brought to Perfection by his Care, in the Year 1689, being fortified after the Modern Manner with considerable Outworks. *These Works were for the Security of the Kingdom.*

Cronenburgh, Famous for its Situation on the Passage of the *Sound*, owes its perfection also to this King, its Fortifications being now all faced with Brick:

So the City of *Rensburgh* stands indebted to this King for the enlargement of its Fortifications;

tions; This place being situate upon the Borders betwixt *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, on the River *Eyder*, was by his Orders made a Royal Fortification, the Bulwarks and Outworks being all faced with Brick, which could not be done without a prodigious Charge,

His Army. It is acknowledg'd on all hands, that whereas at the time of his Accession to the Throne, the Forces of that Kingdom were neither numerous nor well disciplin'd; he introduced such a Reformation among them, that he left near 40000 Men, as good Troops as any are in *Europe*, who have signalized themselves in several Parts against the *French* and *Ottomans*. His Maritim Affairs left in so good a Condition, that 'tis believ'd the present young King will bring a Fleet of 40 Men of War in the *Baltick* next Summer; and *His Revenue.* as to what concerns his Revenues, we have told before, that what with the good Management of the Treasury, and the vast Improvement of Trade in that Kingdom, whilst we were engag'd in a War with *France*, they have been improv'd beyond what could have been rationally expected, considering the vast Charges he was forc'd to be at in maintaining so Considerable an Army.

To conclude this Account, we will add, that as he was naturally of a very robust Constitution, so he was always forward in undergoing all manner of Fatigue, which at last occasioned some Fits of the Gout, and these encreasing by degrees, threw him into a Languishment, of which he died on the 22th of *August*, in the Year 1699, leaving the Throne to his Eldest Son, now King *Frederick IV.*

T H E
C O N C L U S I O N .

Just as I was upon Concluding this Treatise, the following Propositions, made by the two contending Parties, to the Ministers Mediators, Assembled at *Pinnenbergh*, came to my Hands, which, as they may serve towards the Clucidation of what has been said upon the several Heads now in Contest betwixt them, so, I thought it absolutely Requisite to afford them a Place here.

His Majesty's of *Denmark* and *Norway*, &c. Propositions made to the Ministers Mediators, on the 24th of *August*, O. S. 1696, at *Pinnenbergh*.

(1) That the *Unions* and *Hereditary Contracts*, as likewise the *Communion* founded upon the former, may be explain'd, and put into a due Light, Pursuant to their true Intent and Meaning.

(2) That, what concerns the dispute about the *Jus Armorum*, such as Creating of Fortifications, and making of Levies, with all other Matters relating to the Common Defence of these Dukedoms; it may continue in the same manner as has been practised before, according to Antient Custom; and what ever has been done in this point on the Duke's side, contrary to the *Unions*, *Family-Contracts*, and the *Communion*, shall for the future, be redress'd and quite Abolish'd.

(3) That

(3) That the joint-Defence of those Dukedoms shall be resettled upon the antient Foot, and to prevent all further Jealousie upon that Account for the future, the Taxes Levied as well upon the Prelates and Nobility as the Cities, and all the Subjects in General to be brought into one Joint-Treasury, as it was before the Agreement made in the Year 1663, betwixt both Houses, which (being done with mutual Consent, and only for a certain time, ought to be quite annoll'd for the future.

(4) His Majesty of *Denmark* desires, that the last Will and Testament of the late Duke *Christian Albert* may be Communicated to him.

(5) All remaining Grievances to be composed within a limited time, by an Amicable Transaction, and in Case some Differences remain, the same to be decided according to the true intent of the *Compacts of Union*.

The Propositions made by order from His Highness the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, upon the Propositions delivered by the *Danish* Ministers, the 24th of *August* 1696, to the Ministers Mediators, at *Pinnenbergh*, the 14th of *September* O. S. 1696.

(1) His Highness is willing to renew the so much desired *Union*, but upon no other Condition than was stipulated in the Treaties of *Glücksbad* and *Altona*; provided also, that his other Grievances may be Redress'd, and the King renew the same on his side. What concerns the joint Dominion over the Nobility and Prelates (for the same ought not to be extended over the rest) mentioned and introduced in the Hereditary Divisions and Family-Contracts, the same ought to be look'd upon no otherwise than
Family-

Family-Agreements, but not as fundamental and unalterable Laws, never to be dissolved or annul'd; The contrary of which appears from what has been declared in the *Northern Treaties*, that of *Gluckstadt*; and by His Majesty's own Concession, wherewith His Highness is willing to rest satisfied.

(2.) In case there should be an imminent Occasion of an extraordinary Provision to be made for the defence of these Dukedoms; His Majesty and His Highness as Joint Lords thereof, will, according to antient Custom, enter upon Consultations and agree upon this Point; But as to what concerns the Rights or entering into Alliances, to erect Fortifications and making Levies, this is put beyond all dispute by the Treaty of *Altena*, which grants to His Highness, among other Regal Rights, those before-mentioned without any Restriction, Limitation, or previous Communication; in which sense it was not only taken and signed by the Mediators, but also by the Princes, who were Guarantees of the said Treaty; His Highness is not in the least sensible, that on his part there has been done any thing against that *Union*, which is so earnestly desired to be renewed, no more than against the Hereditary Division and Communion; His Highness being willing to be only secured in the quiet possession of them.

(3.) His Highness has made it his utmost Care to provide for the defence of the Country, for which purpose he has taken some foreign Troops into his Service, and has made considerable Levies, and put his Fortifications in a posture of defence, having expended upon this Account not only what Taxes have been levied,
but

but also considerable Summs arising from his own Demeasnes; But what is alledg'd concerning the abolishing of a Treaty made in the Year 1663, and that it would tend to the removing of all farther Jealousies and Misunderstandings, if the Taxes raised, as well from the Balliages, Lands and Cities, as the Nobility and Prelates were brought into one common Treasury; His Highness is of quite another Sentiment; He looks upon it as a thing depending meerly on the pleasure of Sovereigns, which way Taxes are to be raised, to wit: from their own Subjects, so that neither party receives any prejudice by it. The due observance of the Treaties of the *North* and *Gluckstadt*, and of what since has been declared by His Majesty, would prove a more effectual means to prevent all farther Jealousy and differences.

(4.) What concerns the Communication of the Last Will and Testament of His Highnesses Father the late Duke *Christian Albert*, His Highness perswades himself, that the Reasons alledged to His Majesty, and since published, will be so prevailing, as to induce him not to insist any farther upon this point.

(5.) After His Highness has been redress'd concerning the beforementioned Grievances and Propositions, by the Intercession of the Princes Mediators, he is willing that the remaining Differences may be referr'd to an amicable Composition; and in case that should take no effect by a legal Procedure, pursuant to the Intent of the Treaty of *Altena*, which does not mention the least of the Decision of such Differences as may arise betwixt both Houses, as they are Dukes of those Dukedoms, to be done

by the Judgment of the Court of Unions.

Many more Observations might be made upon those Propositions, but as most of them have a near relation to what has been said before; so we will only alledge here in a few words, what the *Danes* reply to the Allegation of the Treaty of *Gluckstadt*, so often mentioned in the Duke's Propositions:

They say that this Treaty (containing the Preliminaries of the Marriage-Contract betwixt the Daughter of King *Frederick* III. and the late Duke) several Transgressions made on that Duke's side, were thereby buried in eternal Oblivion, without insisting upon every particular, which ought not to be drawn into Consequence to the Prejudice of His *Danish* Majesty; it being especially provided for in the said Treaty, that all the *Antient Unions* should remain in their full force and vigour.

F I N I S.